DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 235 434 CG 016 968

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TITLE The Influence of Sex Roles on the Life Plans of Low-SES Adolescents.
INSTITUTION Southwest Educational Development Lab., Austin, Tex.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE Dec 82
CONTRACT 400-80-0107
NOTE 135p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adolescents; Black Youth; *Disadvantaged Youth; Family (Sociological Unit); *Family Role; Intervention; Mexican Americans; Minority Groups; *Occupational Aspiration; Racial Differences; Role Models; Secondary Education; Sex Differences; *Sex Role; Social Mobility; Social Psychology; Sociocultural Patterns; *Socioeconomic Status; Whites

ABSTRACT

Previous research has shown that future roles and plans are affected by race, sex, and socioeconomic status (SES). However, almost all studies have focused on isolated aspects of socialization, such as the occupational plans of white males and the family plans of white females. To investigate the impact of social class, sex-role attitudes, and social-psychological variables on the future plans of low SES and minority male and female adolescents, structured interviews were held over a 3 year period with 65 males and 60 females from three ethnic groups: White, Black, and Mexican American. The 1 hour interviews focused on future plans, maternal employment, role models, sex-role attitudes, self-concept, and personal background. An analysis of the results indicated that low-SES adolescents do not want nor expect high-prestige jobs, and that they have traditional family plans. Background and social-psychological variables only occasionally linked with future plans. Although race and gender were not strong variables, results did suggest they may interact in the development of career and family plans. Suggested intervention strategies are aimed at broadening occupational horizons and providing alternative ways for handling career and family roles. (Appendices provide the interview guides and coding scheme.) (Author/BL)

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ED235434

The Influence of Sex Roles on the Life Plans of Low-SES Adolescents

by

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EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

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*The first 18 months of the project were directed by Judy Corder-Bolz.

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December, 1982

CG 016968

ABSTRACT

The pervasive impact of ascribed roles such as race, sex, and socioeconomic status (SES) on achieved roles is a critical concern for educators. Little is known in the research literature about the future plans of low-SES and minority adolescents, and about how ascribed roles affect their future plans. This three-year study adopts a socialization approach in examining the impact of social class, sex-role attitudes, and social-psychological variables on the future plans of low-SES male and female adolescents. Three aspects of future plans are of interest: occupational plans, family plans, and plans for combining career and family.

Semi-structured interviews were used to obtain information from low-SES adolescents from three ethnic groups: white, black, and Mexican American. Data were obtained from a total of about 65 males and 60 females. Interviews took about one hour to complete, and included questions about the future plans of adolescents, maternal employment, role models and significant others, sex-role attitudes, self-concept, and background variables.

Results indicate that low-SES adolescents do not generally want and expect high-prestige jobs, and that they have fairly traditional plans regarding family lives. Background and social-psychological variables are only occasionally linked to the future plans of adolescents. Although few major race and gender differences could be unearthed, the results do suggest that race and gender might interact in the development of adolescents' plans about career and family.

Results are discussed in light of the available data, and intervention strategies are suggested that could broaden the occupational horizons of adolescents and provide better ways for both males and females to handle their career and family roles.

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CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Research has consistently shown that an individual's future plans (and the outcomes of these plans) are affected by sex and ethnicity. But until recently the relevant research focused almost exclusively on occupational plans among white males, and family plans among white females. Occupational plans of females, family plans of males, and occupational and family plans of ethnic groups other than whites were relatively neglected in this research. Even among whites, the studies tended to be restricted to middle-class populations. The applicability of the findings to other populations is, therefore, unclear. The present study is designed to begin remedying these deficiencies in the existing literature. Specifically, the present study explores the effects of race and/or sex on the future occupational and family plans of lower-socioeconomic status (SES) adolescent males and females from three ethnic groups: white, black, and Mexican American.

The literature review is divided into five separate sections. The first section defines key terms and concepts used throughout this report, and specifies the foci of the report. The second section concerns the evidence about occupational aspirations and expectations of adolescents, and the differential effects of demographic/background factors (sex, ethnicity, SES) on these occupational aspirations. The third section focuses on evidence about combining family and employment, and the fourth section is concerned with predictors of the future plans of adolescents. The last section contains a summary of predicted relationships that can be derived from existing research. Within each section, the findings obtained among middle-class adolescents are supplemented by data from lower-class white, black, and Mexican American populations wherever possible.

Foci and Key Concepts

To avoid confusion about the terminology used in this report, several concepts prevalent in the literature should be defined. Future aspirations refer to the future an adolescent would ideally like to have, independent of realistic constraints. This concept deals with the dreams and fantasies of adolescents. Future expectations refer to the direction which an adolescent believes his/her future will actually take. This concept concerns predictions of the ultimate form of an adolescent's future as he/she realistically sees it. Attainment is the end product of the process of achieving a future life style. This term is used to refer to the actual life style that an adult adopts.

Occupational and family attainments can vary throughout an individual's life. Sociological theory assumes the existence of a process essentially moving from aspirations to expectations to attain-

ment. The formulation of aspirations and expectations for one's future tends to occur prior to the actual attainment of an occupation or lifestyle. All aspects of the process, aspirations, expectations, and attainment, are germane to the present study, although primary emphasis is placed on aspirations and expectations.

Many factors influence the attainment process at each stage of an individual's development. These factors can be subsumed under three general headings: background variables, social-psychological variables, and structural variables. Each group of variables is important in the attainment process, both elementally and in interaction with other variables. The present study opts to hold certain background variables constant (e.g., age, socioeconomic status), and to examine the attainment process within other background characteristics. Specifically, six demographic subgroups are examined:

- low-SES white girls;
- low-SES white boys;
- low-SES black girls;
- low-SES black boys;
- low-SES Mexican American girls; and
- low-SES Mexican American boys.

Social-psychological predictors of the future plans of adolescents are included within the purview of the present study, since these variables play a key role in the determination of occupational aspirations and expectations. The selection of specific social-psychological variables to be investigated is based on research findings indicating their centrality to the present concerns. Among the social-psychological variables of interest in the present study are sex-role attitudes, self-concept, role models and significant others, and maternal employment.

Structural variables involve an examination of the impact of social structure and social institutions on adolescents as they move through the attainment process, especially through the process of occupational attainment. A structural study concentrates on the relevant institutions, and takes a relatively long-term perspective on attainment. Because of logistical difficulties with such a study, and because the primary emphasis here is on adolescents rather than institutions, structural variables were excluded from the scope of the present investigation.

In short, the present study is concerned with the following issues:

- future occupational plans of adolescents;

- future family plans of adolescents;
- future plans for combining work and family;
- impact of background variables on future plans; and
- impact of social-psychological variables on future plans.

As mentioned above, the effects of race, sex, and SES on the future plans of adolescents are of particular interest here.

Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

By far the largest amount of sociological research on occupational aspirations and expectations has focused on the processes and variables that influence sex-typing of occupational aspirations (Harren, 1978; Tully, Stephan, & Chance, 1976), although some evidence concerning the effects of race and SES can also be gleaned.

Sex

By the time they are two or three years old, males and females begin to mention different kinds of occupational aspirations (Gettys & Cann, 1981; Looft, 1971). Females typically aspire to jobs predominantly held by women, and males to jobs predominantly held by men. These differentiations become more marked as children mature (Gottfredson, 1978). Furthermore, the distribution of aspirations of males and females corresponds to the sex distribution of employment by field of work (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Gottfredson, Holland, & Gottfredson, 1975; Marini & Greenberger, 1978b; Olive, 1973; Sewell & Orenstein, 1964; Werts, 1966). This fact, combined with a knowledge of the occupational structure, tells us that female adolescents aspire to a more restricted range of occupations than do male adolescents (Corder-Bolz, 1979; Looft, 1971; Siegel, 1973), although Umstot (1980) reported that career possibilities were wider for older adolescent females than for younger ones. We also find that adult females seldom aspire to the highest business and professional positions (Coates & Southern, 1972; Pavalko, 1971). From large national surveys conducted annually between 1976 and 1980, Herzog (1982) noted that only a few sex differences in occupational plans among adolescents were declining. In fact, marked sex differences persisted in terms of the kinds of work seniors plan to do when they are 30 years old, the settings in which they would like to work, and the work characteristics that are important to them.

Despite the consistency of findings from research related to the differential occupational aspirations of males and females, data pertaining to the status or prestige dimensions of the occupational aspirations of males and females are somewhat contradictory. Some research shows that, by the time they reach junior high school, females have lower-status occupational ambitions than do males (Barnett, 1971; Pavalko, 1971; Tully et al., 1976) and that, unlike those of males, the

occupational aspirations of females decrease as they progress through high school (Mowsesian, 1972) and college (Angrist & Almquist, 1975). But recent data suggest instead that male and female adolescents have equal aspirations (Brief & Aldag, 1975; Goodale & Hall, 1976; Haller, Otto, Meier, & Ohlendorf, 1974; Harrison, 1969; Rosen & Aneshensel, 1978; Tittle, 1981).

Two explanations have been offered for finding similarity in occupational aspirations across sex. First, similar male/female aspirations are sometimes considered artifacts of the measurement of the status dimension of aspirations (Tully et al., 1976). The use of major Census occupational categories (or similar large groupings) to code the status of occupations masks the fact that males and females are concentrated in different occupations within these categories. U.S. Department of Labor statistics (1978) indicate that women are concentrated in only a few occupations. This concentration, or sex-typing, is critical to the present research since females tend to hold lower-paying, lower-status occupations within each broad category. For example, a doctor and a nurse are both considered "professionals," one of the major Census categories. The prestige and income of these jobs, as well as their sex-typing, are quite different, however. Analysis procedures that ignore these within-category sex differences lead to errors in inferences about male/female aspirations, since a female's aspiring to be a nurse is considered equivalent to male's aspiring to be a doctor, clearly a fallacious assumption. Fottler and Bain (1980) point out that, while the career aspirations of females are not lower than those of males, they are different in ways that perpetuate the existence of a sex-segregated labor force and consequent sex differences in income. A more appropriate methodology would entail the use of occupational prestige scores instead of broad occupational groupings in determining levels of occupational aspirations. This technique obviates the need to rely on large Census categories.

This methodological approach may provide the second possible explanation of the recent findings that males and females have equal occupational aspirations. When mean prestige scores are examined, aspirations for the two sexes appear to be very much alike. But it has also been reported that males aspire to a much larger range of jobs, including jobs both high and low in prestige, than do females (contradictory evidence was offered recently by Dunne, Rogers, & Carlson, 1981). In effect, mean prestige scores conceal sex differences in both the range and the standard deviations of scores. But when the median incomes for given occupations are shown, the differences are not so masked, and the economic reality of male/female differences in aspirations is more apparent (Tully et al., 1976).

There is some evidence that sex differences also exist in the extent of discrepancy between the occupational aspirations and occupational expectations of middle-class males and females. Corder-Bolz (1979) reported that differences between aspirations and expectations were less common among males than among females. At the same time, females had fewer discrepancies between their own aspirations and expectations for combining work and family than males did about their wives combining work and family (Corder-Bolz & Stephan, 1979). Berman

and Haug (1975) also found sex differences in the discrepancy between occupational aspirations and expectations. Within SES categories, females were more discrepant in their aspirations and expectations than were males.

Research has rarely reported sex differences in the occupational aspirations of minority adolescents. From a review of the relevant research, however, Smith (1981) concluded that there were few data to support the idea that black females had higher career aspirations than black males. The author also reported that, although black female adolescents may initially have slightly higher career aspirations than black males or white females, these aspirations decline in college among black females.

The foregoing research leads us to believe that there are indeed sex-related differences in both the occupational aspirations and the occupational expectations of adolescents.

Socioeconomic Status

A student's SES is related to occupational and educational aspirations and expectations (Alix & Lantz, 1973; Bennet & Gist, 1964; Clark, 1967; Haller et al., 1974; Mac Kay & Miller, 1982; Rehberg, 1967; Tully et al., 1976). The data support two contradictory conclusions concerning the relationship between SES and occupational aspirations: (1) that high status goals are characteristic of all children and, therefore, SES is not influential in determining occupational aspirations (Bennet & Gist, 1964), but (2) that aspirations are positively related with SES (Rehberg, 1967). From a review of the literature, Marini (1978) concluded that among boys there is a consistent positive relationship between family status and educational and occupational aspirations, regardless of the measure of family status used; a parallel relationship among girls is considerably weaker. Alix and Lantz (1973), however, found support for both positions in that, while there was a positive correlation between SES and aspirations, children from all SES backgrounds were more likely to choose high-status occupations than low-status occupations. Consistent with this, several studies have also found that there is a greater discrepancy between occupational aspirations and expectations among low-SES adolescents than among middle-SES adolescents (Bennet & Gist, 1964; Brookover, Eriksen, & Joiner, 1967; Caro & Pihlblad, 1965; Cosby & Picou, 1973; Empey, 1956; Haller & Miller, 1963; Holloway & Berreman, 1959; Stephenson, 1957).

But these studies used male samples almost exclusively. When females are included in the sample, differences in occupational aspirations across SES groups emerge. Specifically, sex and SES appear to interact in their effects on occupational aspirations. Thus, Clark (1967) found that middle-class males and lower-class females were more likely to aspire to white-collar jobs than were middle-class females and lower-class males. Tully et al. (1976) reported that the relationship between sex and occupational prestige scores was stronger for high-SES students than for low-SES students. Goodale and Hall (1976) also discovered SES to have a much stronger impact on the occupational aspirations of males than females. These authors also reported that

girls were less likely to inherit the career attainments of their parents. Rosen and Asenhensel (1978), however, did not obtain similar results.

Research focusing on educational rather than occupational aspirations supports Goodale and Hall's (1976) findings that sex and SES have an interactive effect on aspirations. Other supporting evidence comes from Marini and Greenberger (1978a), who found SES to have less impact on the educational aspirations of females than males.

In short, the research shows some influence of SES on occupational aspirations, particularly in interaction with gender.

Race/Ethnicity

Previous research has sometimes examined the effects of race and ethnicity on the occupational aspirations of adolescents, particularly adolescent males. Because of the high correlation between race/ethnicity and SES, findings from studies involving race, like those involving SES, have been contradictory. For example, black males have been shown to have higher occupational aspirations than white males (Cosby, 1971; Curry & Picou, 1971), similar occupational aspirations as white males (Cosby & Picou, 1973; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971), and lower occupational aspirations than white males (Sprey, 1962; Thomas & Falk, 1978). A study comparing the educational and occupational aspirations of two adolescent cohorts (Garrison, 1982) discovered that white collar aspirations dropped among white males from 1967 to 1976, although no change occurred among black males. A possible explanation of the discrepant findings may be differences in the sets of cohorts among whom data were collected. Another potential explanation is suggested in the work of Hoetler (1982), who found desegregated blacks to fall in between whites and segregated blacks in terms of their "rationality" (defined as the development of status aspirations due to differences in access to information). Picou (1973) argued that the conceptual framework explaining occupational aspirations was different for black and white adolescent males. Using a path analytic approach, Picou and Howard (1978) concluded that race (white/black) did not have a significant effect on occupational plans, although it did affect educational plans among rural youth. Berman (1972) found that adolescent females from different ethnic groups had different occupational aspirations. Hager and Elton (1971) discovered that black males were more likely than white males to choose social service over physical science careers. Espinoza, Fernandez, and Dornbusch (1975) reported that Chicano students tended to aspire to blue-collar jobs more often than other ethnic minorities (blacks and Asians). Tittle (1981) also reported that black and Hispanic students in her sample had somewhat higher aspirations than white students.

The discrepancy between aspirations and expectations has also been examined across ethnic groups. For instance, Berman and Haug (1975) found that blacks were more confident than whites that they would actually attain their aspirations. By contrast, Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) and Kelly and Wingrove (1975) determined that black adolescents lower their aspirations more as they grow older than do white adoles-

cents. In a projective investigation of locus of control (Lykes, Stewart, & LaFrance, 1981), race and sex appeared to moderate some relationships between control orientation and occupational aspirations. Evans and Anderson (1973) found Mexican American adolescents to hold lower aspirations than whites. In a comparison of white, black, and Mexican American adolescents, Kuvlesky, Wright, and Juarez (1971) found that the educational and occupational aspirations of all three groups were generally high, although Mexican American youth were least certain in their own minds that they would attain their aspirations. This is consistent with other data showing that the gap between aspirations and expectations is greater for Mexican Americans than any other ethnic group (Hernandez, 1973).

Grebler, Moore, and Guzman (1970) compared the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of Mexican American and white adolescents. The results showed that, although the majority of both groups aspired to formal education after high school, the proportion of white adolescents with such aspirations was higher than the proportion of Mexican Americans with such aspirations. The occupational aspirations of both groups were also high, the majority aspiring to white-collar work, although Mexican Americans tended to aspire to lower level white-collar jobs than did whites. Nonetheless, over 50% of the Mexican American adolescents wanted skilled or professional jobs. In an earlier study, Manuel (1965) also compared the occupational aspirations and expectations of white and Spanish-speaking adolescent boys and girls and found the following: a higher proportion of white boys and girls reported aspiring to professional and managerial occupations than did Spanish-speaking boys and girls; that Spanish-speaking boys were more likely than their white counterparts to aspire to skilled jobs; and that the proportion of girls desiring service jobs was similar across ethnic groups. Similar results also characterized occupational expectations. Wright and Kuvlesky (1968) also reported parallel results in this context. Fields (1981) also reported that mothers' perceptions of opportunity were of considerable importance in the development of occupational aspirations among black and Mexican American children, but not necessarily among white children. Tangentially, Demos (1962) noted that although white adolescents tended to have somewhat more favorable educational attitudes than Mexican Americans, the similarities in educational attitudes between the two groups far outshadowed the differences. Dillard and Campbell (1981) related parents' occupational aspirations and expectations with those of children among samples of white, black, and Puerto Rican families. Results suggest that parents' attitudes have stronger associations with children's attitudes among blacks than among the other two groups. Schwartz's (1971) findings suggested that Mexican American adolescents from high-SES backgrounds were more similar to white adolescents than Mexican American students from low-SES backgrounds. This race-SES interaction has not received systematic attention so far.

Research has also shown an interaction between the effects of race and sex as they influence occupational attitudes (Brief & Aldag, 1975; Hout & Morgan, 1975; Howell, 1978; Thomas & Falk, 1978; Tittle, 1981). Gottfredson (1978), however, found no such interaction in the prediction of occupational aspirations.

Summary

The data show that males aspire to and expect a wider range of jobs than do females, that males aspire to and expect higher-paying jobs than females, and that males aspire to and expect traditionally-male jobs, whereas females aspire to and expect traditionally-female jobs. Although there are some contradictory findings, research generally shows SES to be positively related to occupational aspirations and expectations. A sex X SES interaction also seems indicated by the research. Findings about the impact of race on occupational aspirations are mixed, although some evidence can be mustered to suggest that white adolescents have the greatest certainty about achieving their expectations.

Combining Family and Employment

As noted above, research in this area has tended to focus on men's work roles and women's family roles. This research has also been "tunnel-visioned" in that middle-class white adolescents have been its almost exclusive concern (Hesselbert, 1978). In other words, race/ethnicity effects have been neglected, as have SES effects. In this section, we will review the relevant literature on the future plans of low-SES adolescents. Because there are major differences in the foci of research with respect to males and females, research about the two genders is discussed separately.

Women's Attitudes About Combining Family and Employment

In general, the research indicates that middle-class white females' occupational and family plans are interrelated (Farmer & Bohn, 1970; Harmon, 1970; Matthews & Tiedman, 1964; Oppenheimer, 1968; Rand & Miller, 1972), and that the majority of middle-class white females plan both to work and to marry (Corder-Bolz & Stephan, 1979; Cummings, 1977; Klemmack & Edwards, 1973; Rand & Miller, 1972).

Low-SES White Females. The data suggest that low-SES women marry primarily to achieve their adult roles (Komarovsky, 1976; LeMasters, 1975; Rubin, 1976), and are likely to have romanticized conceptions of marriage (Hacker, 1975; Rubin, 1976) despite the contradictory role models around them (Komarovsky, 1976; Rainwater, Coleman, & Handel, 1959). Furthermore, low-SES women have traditional expectations of marriage, they expect not to work outside the home. These women expect their husbands to provide for them financially, while they themselves take care of the home and children (Komarovsky, 1976; LeMasters, 1975; Rubin, 1976). After they have been married for some time, working-class women typically view marriage as being more advantageous for men than for women.

In contrast to their fantasies, these low-SES white females tend to have to work due to economic necessity (Rubin, 1976). Despite the necessity for working, most blue-collar women feel that their jobs are more satisfying than is homemaking (Walshok, 1978). Thus, the data suggest that, unlike middle-class women, low-SES women who work outside

the home are happier and feel more competent than housewives (Ferree, 1976; Fidell & Prather, 1976).

In short, low-SES white women fantasize about a traditional division of labor, but end up having to combine work and family due to financial need, and tend to be satisfied with working.

Low-SES Black Females. Black adolescents see work as an important part of their adult roles, and expect to work most of their lives (Harrison & Minor, 1978; Kuvlesky & Obordo, 1972; Macke & Morgan, 1978). Since the mother occupies a central role in black families, since financial sufficiency is important (Bell, 1971; Harrison & Minor, 1978; Ladner, 1972; Meyers, 1975), and since working mothers are the norm rather than the exception, it is easier to accept female employment (Shea, Spitz, & Zeller, 1970; Sobol, 1974). Furthermore, most black women think black males expect their wives to work (Axelson, 1970; Entwistle & Greenberger, 1970). Thus, Harrison (1973) and Turner and McCaffrey (1974) reported that black college women believe that a college education (with its consequent earning potential) is useful in that it increases their ability to marry high-status black males. In support of these findings, Thomas and Falk (1978) reported that only 6% of adolescent black females (compared to 30% of adolescent white females) expect to be housewives. Some data also indicate that the occupational aspirations of female black adolescents are affected by their fathers' occupational expectations (George, 1981).

With respect to their views on marriage, Anderson and Himes (1959) and Broderick (1965) found that black females viewed marriage as a reasonable goal of dating. McAdoo (1979), however, reported that over half of the black single mothers in her sample did not want to marry because they saw so few successful marriages. Mueller and Campbell (1977) also found that the relationship between occupational achievements and the likelihood of remaining single was weaker for black than for white women.

In short, low-SES black females expect to have jobs as adults. But these females hold mixed views about their aspirations regarding marriage.

Low-SES Mexican American Females. The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1978) reports that most Mexican American children (81%) live in intact families, and that the family is about as likely to be maintained by a female (16%) as among whites. While Mexican Americans are about as likely to be married as other groups, they are less likely to be divorced (Alvirez & Bean, 1976; Eberstein & Frisbie, 1976; Staples & Mirande, 1980). These figures provide the context for interpreting the research on Mexican American adolescents. Unfortunately, most of this research is rather speculative and subjective in nature (Ramirez & Arce, 1981; Wright & Kuvlesky, 1968).

In general, "armchair" research suggests that most Mexican Americans girls are submissive (Zinn, 1980b) and, like their mothers, aspire and expect to stay at home and be housewives. The meager empirical evidence that does exist indicates otherwise, however. One

study showed that only 2% of Mexican American adolescent females aspired to be housewives and only 11% actually expected to be housewives. An overwhelming proportion (80%) of the girls desired either low-prestige professional jobs or clerical and sales jobs (Wright & Kuvlesky, 1968). In a related study, Cooney (1975) noted that the relative increase in labor force participation has been the highest among married Mexican American women (higher than among married black or white women). Ybarra (1982) also reported that wife's employment was associated with an egalitarian division of household labor among Mexican American families. These results challenge the stereotypic conception of the all-consuming importance of family among Mexican American females. Thus, Shannon and Shannon (1973) discovered that Mexican Americans, like whites, attached importance to schooling for girls as well as boys. Although his sample consisted of Puerto Ricans rather than Mexican Americans, Ovando (1978) also obtained results relevant here: 63% of the females aspired to college and SES levels did not affect college aspirations. That Mexican American girls aspire to college and to work should not be taken to imply a lowering of the emphasis on family. To the contrary, Ramirez (1967) found that Mexican American women obtained high scores on family attitudes.

Thus, data on Mexican American females suggest high college aspirations, reasonable occupational aspirations and expectations, and high regard for family. From these data it may be concluded that most Mexican American girls aspire and expect to combine work and family.

Summary. Low-SES adolescent girls tend to expect to combine work and family although some, particularly white girls, aspire to traditional gender roles. Expectations for working appear to be strongest among black adolescents. Data on Mexican American girls suggest that they are not necessarily traditional in their views about combining work and family.

Men's Attitudes About Combining Family and Employment

It is generally accepted that males have more traditional sex-role attitudes than females (Bayer, 1975; Corder-Bolz & Stephan, 1979; Spence & Helmreich, 1978) and are relinquishing these attitudes more slowly than women (Scanzoni & Fox, 1980). It is not surprising, therefore, to find men holding traditional attitudes about wives and mothers working outside the home (Almquist, 1974; Corder-Bolz & Stephan, 1979; Hollender & Shafer, 1981; Komarovsky, 1976; McMillian, 1972).

Low-SES White Males. The few studies of low-SES males that have been conducted so far indicate that, as adolescents, these males expected traditional adult lives (Komarovsky, 1976; Rubin, 1976). These studies, as well as one study by LeMasters (1975), demonstrate that low-SES men have traditional sex-role views of marriage. With respect to work, the data reveal that most men consider it inevitable; "blue-collar aristocrats" (i.e., the higher-paid blue-collar workers) found their jobs to be satisfying, but working-class males felt frustrated in, and alienated from, their jobs (Komarovsky, 1976; LeMasters, 1975; Rubin, 1976). Blue-collar aristocrats, furthermore, did not mind their wives working, provided family roles were not

neglected. But other working class men were unwilling to have their wives work for fear that it would reflect badly on their (i.e., the husbands') breadwinning capacity.

Thus, low-SES white males aspire and expect to combine work and family. Although most low-SES men would prefer their wives not to work outside the home, they realistically expect that their wives might have to.

Low-SES Black Males. Like white males, black males tend to aspire and expect to combine work and family. Black males also tend to have less rigid sex-role stereotypes than do white males. Egalitarian role-sharing in black families has been discussed in some research (Billingsley, 1968; Ladner, 1972; O'Leary & Harrison, 1975; Rao & Rao, 1978). Thus, Axelson (1970) noted that black males were more likely than white males to experience inadequacies if the wife earned more than they did, but black males also were less likely to argue for a reduction of the female's income. Consistent with these perceptions, black males are more prone to be supportive of their wives working (Axelson, 1970; Entwistle & Greenberger, 1970). Black males were also less likely to believe that maternal employment is detrimental to child upbringing, and black children are more likely to see their parents' roles (homemaking and breadwinning) as interchangeable across gender (Axelson, 1970; Beckett, 1976).

Low-SES Mexican American Males. Prevailing opinion posits the concept of "machismo" as a key to the social development of Mexican American boys. Originally, machismo was synonymous with power, control, and violence; it is now equated with honor, respect, and dignity (Mirandé, 1977; Monteil, 1973; Murillo, 1971; Staples & Mirandé, 1980). The basic proposition to stem from this concept is that Mexican American males will be traditional in their opinions about work and family; not only will they see the male as the breadwinner and the female as the homemaker, these males will have relatively low participation in household work (Peñalosa, 1968). The patriarchical depiction of the Mexican American male has been questioned in some recent literature. For instance, Mirandé (1979) argued that findings showing the Mexican American family to be more egalitarian than previously assumed have been downplayed in the literature. A study by Hawkes and Taylor (1975) discovered that male dominance was not a prevailing feature among Mexican American families. Respondents, particularly younger and/or higher-income respondents, tended to be egalitarian in terms of performing sex-typed tasks. Zinn (1980a) examined the effects of wife's employment outside the home and level of education as determinants of the division of household labor between spouses. She found that, as women acquired extra-domestic resources, they achieved greater equality in conjugal decision-making. Tharp, Meadow, Lennhoff, and Satterfield (1968) also found more equal relationships as a function of acculturation. Bean, Curtis, and Marcum (1977) reported, however, that Mexican American husbands were less satisfied when their wives worked, and that the negative relationship between wife's employment and satisfaction was particularly observable among lower-class couples. Thus, the research leads to two inferences about the Mexican American male: (a) that traditionally he was more likely to hold sex-typed views

of marriage but (b) that these views might be losing salience with increases in education and income.

With respect to the occupational aspirations of these boys, Wright and Kuvlesky (1968) reported that almost half of the Mexican American boys in their sample desired professional jobs; less than 30% desired blue-collar jobs, and most blue-collar jobs to which they aspired were skilled jobs. By contrast, a large proportion of the boys expected to get low-prestige professional or skilled blue-collar jobs. Similar results were also reported in another study by Manuel (1965). Consistent with these findings are the results obtained by Peñalosa and McDonagh (1966) who found 40% of Mexican American adults in an area random sample had been upwardly mobile, 31.3% nonmobile, and 27.2% downwardly mobile.

This research suggests that low-SES Mexican American boys expect to hold mid-level jobs. Although these boys are not particularly in favor of their wives working, they do tend to assume some of the household responsibilities if the wives work.

Summary. The data suggest that low-SES white males may well hold the most traditional attitudes about their wives working. Black adolescents have the least traditional attitudes in this context. Adolescents from all three ethnic groups aspire with relative frequency to professional jobs.

Predictors of Future Plans

In this section, variables are examined that have been found in the past to be related to educational or occupational aspirations, to females' plans for combining employment and family, and to males' attitudes about this combination. Specifically, research about the effects of maternal employment, role models and significant others, sex-role attitudes, and self-concept on the future plans of adolescents is reviewed.

Maternal Employment

The effect of maternal employment on children has been a topic of research for many years (Hoffman, 1979). Recently, maternal employment was examined as an antecedent of daughters' occupational aspirations and daughters' attitudes about combining family and employment. Some data on sons' attitudes in this respect are also available.

Research consistently shows some impact of maternal employment on the occupational aspirations of daughters (Corder-Bolz & Stephan, 1979; Ridgeway, 1978; Tangri, 1972). But this research is also prone to show these effects to be conditional in some way, and to vary with factors such as mother's job type (Burlin, 1976; Macke & Morgan, 1978), success with which the work and family roles were managed by the mother (Baruch, 1972), and maternal life dissatisfaction (Parsons, Frieze, & Ruble, 1978). Other research has shown that maternal employment may also serve

a negative role modeling function (Baruch, 1972; Klecka & Hiller, 1977; Macke & Morgan, 1978). Bernard (1975) advocated the idea that maternal employment may lead to nontraditional role combinations among daughters, an idea that found support in the work of Fox (1979) and Keith (1981) but not Smith and Self (1980). In short, while maternal employment may affect occupational aspirations, these effects are rather complex.

Only a few studies have been concerned with the relationship between maternal employment and children's attitudes about combining work and family. Corder-Bolz and Stephan (1979) reported that maternal employment had a stronger impact on males' attitudes than on females' attitudes, and Allen (1978) found that maternal employment had a stronger impact on black males than on white males. Likewise, Vogel, Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz (1970) reported the occurrence of fewer sex-segregated attitudes among college students whose mothers worked than among those whose mothers did not. Dillard and Campbell (1981) found stronger relationships between parental (particularly maternal) employment attitudes and children's employment attitudes among blacks than among whites and Puerto Ricans. The authors suggested as a potential explanation that black mothers more often than not worked both in and outside the home. In short, it may be possible to infer that maternal employment leads to better acceptance of women combining work and family.

Role Models and Significant Others

Role models are hypothesized to affect career attitudes of children (Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma, 1951; Super, Crites, Hummel, Moser, Overstreet, & Warnath, 1957). Mothers constitute one set of potential role models for their children. But other role models and significant others can also have a strong impact on the future plans of adolescents. For instance, Oliver (1975) suggested that fathers rather than mothers tend to serve as role models for career-oriented females. The importance of both parents as role models was also emphasized by Ridgeway (1978) and Rosen and Aneshensel (1978).

Several studies have shown that the occupational expectations of significant others have a strong bearing on an adolescent's own occupational aspirations (Haller & Portes, 1973; Haller & Woelfel, 1972; Woelfel & Haller, 1971). Walker (1981) found that exposure to role models, particularly to female faculty advisors, had a significant effect on young womens' self-esteem and sex-role attitudes. Other studies that have pointed to the critical role of significant others in the development of occupational and family plans include Biebly (1978), Edwards (1969), and Hawley (1972). Some data suggest ethnic differences in the types of significant others that are important (Corder-Bolz, 1979; Schwartz & Stryker, 1970). Espinoza et al. (1975) noted that black students were most likely to attribute importance of education to significant others. Peñalosa (1968) also discussed family relationships among Mexican American families, suggesting that significant others are likely to be family members in this ethnic group. Anderson and Johnson (1971) and Gottlieb (1966) attributed some of the vocational failures of minorities to the dearth of relevant role models. Among a sample of Puerto Rican students, Ovando (1978) found parental aspirations to be

predictive of college aspirations. In a similar vein, Gecas, Thomas, and Weigert (1973) found gender and family to be most important among Mexican Americans, but peers to be more important among white adolescents. The importance of fathers in Mexican American adolescence was also highlighted in a study by LeCorgne and Laosa (1976), who found that father-present students had greater intellectual maturity and fewer signs of maladjustment than father-absent children.

Overall, it may be concluded that role models and significant others are important for adolescents' future plans, and may vary across demographic subgroups. But specific SES and ethnicity predictions are still premature.

Sex-Role Attitudes

Sex-role attitudes have been linked to career choices for both males and females (Almquist, 1974b; Corder-Bolz, 1979; Dunne, 1980; Friedman, 1975; Harren, 1978; Parsons, et al., 1978). Many of these studies have found that females with nontraditional attitudes are more likely (than females with traditional attitudes) to choose nontraditional occupations. A similar relationship has not yet been established among males (Allgeier, 1975). On the other hand, sex-role attitudes among both males and females are related to attitudes about combining work and family: adolescents with traditional attitudes are less likely than those with nontraditional attitudes to combine work and family (Angrist, Mickelsen, & Penna, 1977; Corder-Bolz & Stephan, 1979; Parelius, 1975; Vogel et al., 1970).

Race differences in sex-role attitudes were noticed in a study by O'Leary and Harrison (1975), where blacks had less rigid attitudes than whites. Hershey's (1978) data also suggest that sex-typing and traditional sex stereotypes are at least as common among black respondents as among white respondents. Kranau, Green, and Valencia-Weber (1982) reported that sex-role attitudes were positively related to acculturation among a sample of hispanic women.

The evidence suggests, therefore, that sex-role attitudes do affect the future plans of adolescents, and that there might be ethnic differences in the types of attitudes held by respondents.

Self-Concept

In general, self-concept has been found to affect the occupational and family plans of adolescents (Stryker, 1968). Other writers to find some effects of self-concept (or similar attitudes such as self-esteem) on occupational plans include Corder-Bolz (1979), Evans and Anderson (1973), Gordon (1972), Homall, Juhasz, and Juhasz (1974), and Parsons et al. (1978). Corder-Bolz and Stephan (1979) also reported that self-concept was related to males' attitudes about wives combining career and family, but was not related to females' attitudes about combining the two.

Race differences have been observed on occasion with respect to self-concept. For instance, Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) found no

differences in self-esteem between blacks and whites, but did find race differences in the relationship between self-esteem and occupational aspirations. Anderson and Johnson (1971) also reported that self-concept of ability was predictive of school success among Mexican American adolescents. In a study of sixth-grade girls, Hishiki (1969) noted that Mexican American girls had significantly lower self-concepts than did white girls. By contrast, DeBlassie and Healy (1970) reported no significant differences in the overall self-concepts of black, white, and Mexican American adolescents; SES differences were also not observed. On a few dimensions, however, males had more positive self-concepts than females. Jordan (1981) noted that academic, but not global, self-concept was related to academic achievement among inner-city black adolescents. Dworkin (1965) distinguished between self-concepts among foreign-born versus native-born Mexican Americans, and found the self-concepts of the former to be significantly more positive than the self-concepts of the latter. Other studies focusing on the self-concepts of Mexican Americans have provided mixed results (Carter, 1968; Lambert, 1967; Palomares & Johnson, 1966). Based on these results, Hernandez (1973) hypothesized that, although self-concept per se may not be different across ethnic groups, its relationship to achievement may vary.

Overall, then, these data suggest that different ethnic groups may have different self-concepts, and that self-concept has some bearing on educational and occupational aspirations, expectations, and attainments.

Summary and Predictions

It is clear that research on the future plans of low-SES adolescents is fragmented, isolated, and sparse. Often, the evidence that does exist is mixed in its implications. Some tentative predictions can be generated based on this research, however, and these predictions are discussed in this section.

Occupational Aspirations and Expectations. Because of their SES, both male and female adolescents from lower-class families can be expected to have difficulty verbalizing their occupational aspirations and expectations. Among these adolescents, occupational aspirations will be higher than expectations. Furthermore, the discrepancy between occupational aspirations and expectations will be highest for black adolescents and lowest for white adolescents. Discrepancies between aspirations and expectations will also be higher for females than for males. Most adolescents will expect to hold skilled blue-collar or low-prestige professional-type jobs. The occupational aspirations of all adolescents will be shaped by the jobs held by parents, role models and significant others.

Combining Work and Family. Both males and females will expect to marry young and to have children. Both sexes will also expect that females will work outside the home. White males more often than white females will want the female not to work outside the home. Although

white males will consider the family to be important, they will expect their future wives to take the primary responsibility for home and children. White females will want their future husbands to be the primary breadwinners, and to have the major decision-making authority in the family. White females will be more likely than white males to want and expect their future husbands to spend time at home helping with household work.

Black females will be more likely than white females to want to be employed. Black adolescents will be more likely than white adolescents to expect to share household and childcare responsibilities. The strongest emphasis on the family will be placed by Mexican American adolescents. But even these adolescents will expect the females to have to combine work and family. There will be no significant ethnic differences in expectations to share household responsibilities.

Maternal Employment. This variable will be related to occupational aspirations and attitudes about combining work and family among females. White males whose mothers are employed will be more likely to expect their future wives to work, but will be no more likely to want them to. Maternal employment will be unrelated to the occupational plans of white males. This variable is expected to be a constant among blacks. Among blacks, maternal employment will provide a positive role model for sons, but a negative role model for daughters, particularly if the mothers hold low-status jobs. Maternal employment is expected to be least prevalent among Mexican Americans. Where mothers are employed, Mexican American boys are expected to hold more favorable attitudes about women combining work and family. For all groups, maternal employment is expected to be related to less traditional sex-role attitudes.

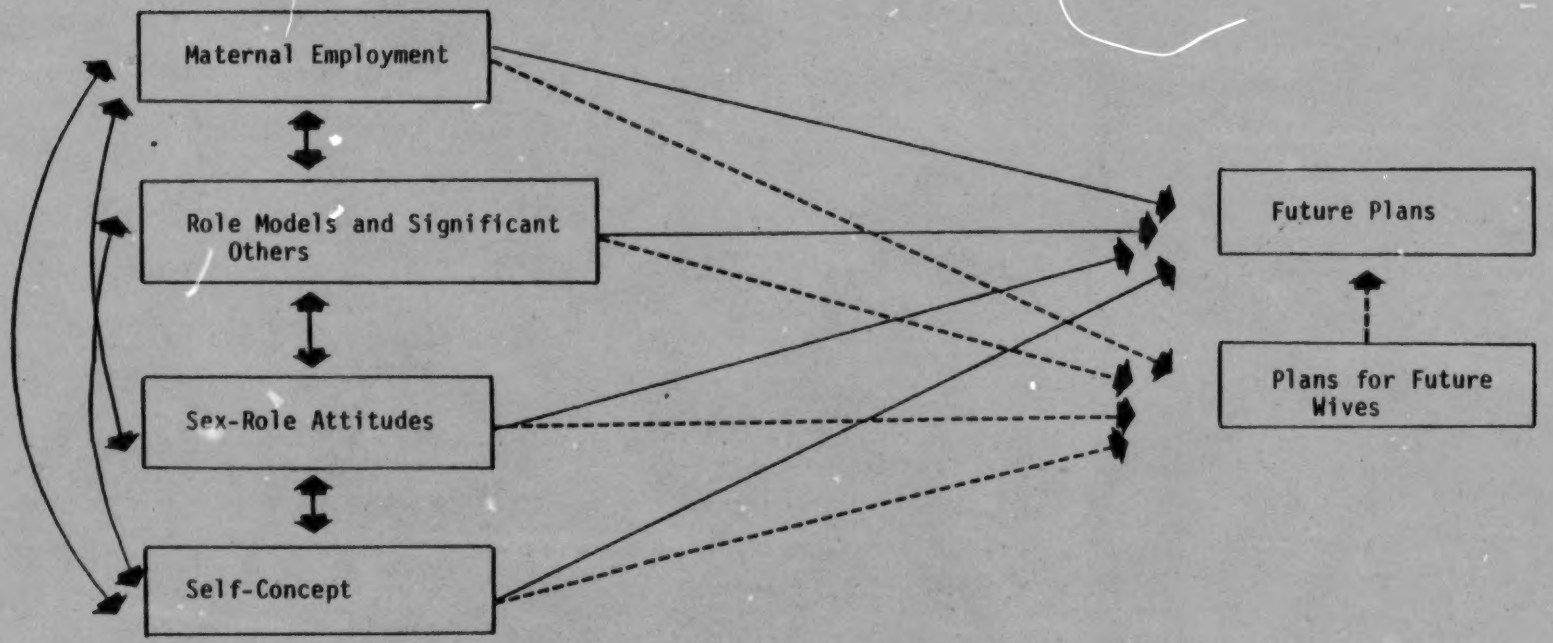
Role Models and Significant Others. White adolescents will tend to choose same-sex parents or relatives for role models and significant others. The life styles of the role models and significant others, and their perceived expectations of the adolescents, will predict adolescent future plans. For blacks, role models and significant others will come from the kinship network. This will be true for both males and females. Among Mexican Americans, role models and significant others will be chosen from the extended family, and will tend to be of the same sex. The attitudes of role models and significant others will be associated with the attitudes of adolescents. Perceived evaluations and expectations from role models and significant others will be associated with self-concept. Adolescents will report little input from role models and significant others with respect to vocational guidance and counseling.

Sex-Role Attitudes. Adolescent males will have more traditional attitudes than adolescent females. Black adolescents will have the least traditional attitudes, and Mexican Americans will have the most traditional attitudes. Sex-role attitudes will be related to occupational aspirations for white and Mexican American females. Sex-role attitudes will also be related to plans about combining work and family for white and Mexican American adolescents. For blacks, sex-role attitudes will be related primarily to the kinds of jobs chosen and the specific ways in which females are expected to combine work and family roles. Traditional sex-role attitudes will be associated with positive

FIGURE 1

Expected Effects of Sex Roles on the Future Life Plans

of Low-SES Adolescents



Solid lines indicate effects for all adolescents.
Dotted lines indicate additional effects for males only.

self-concepts among males, but with negative self-concepts among females.

Self-Concept. Adolescent females will have less positive self-concepts than adolescent males, and this will be related to lower occupational aspirations. Blacks will have self-concepts similar to those of whites, although the self-concepts of Mexican Americans will be lower. Males with traditional sex-role attitudes will have positive self-concepts; the reverse will be true for females. Variations in self-concept will be low among blacks.

The expected relationships are summarized in Figure 1. Although the predictions from race/sex groups are collapsed into one figure, the specific predictions outlined above should be remembered in reviewing the relationships depicted in it.

Because of the exploratory nature of the present study, it is expected that, at best, tentative support can be obtained for the predictions summarized in Figure 1, shown overleaf.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in three distinct phases. The first year was devoted to an examination of low-SES white adolescents, the second year to an examination of low-SES black adolescents, and the third year to an examination of low-SES Mexican American adolescents. The research design was essentially replicated in each of the three years, although minor variations did occur from year to year. The design for Year One is described in detail below, and changes and variations for Years Two and Three are noted later.

Year One Procedures

Respondents. The respondents for Year One were 14 low-SES adolescent white females and 15 low-SES adolescent white males.[1] At the time of the study, all respondents were about to enter, or in, their final year of high school. None were married, and none had any children. The original plan for locating respondents who met the dictates of the study (low-SES white boys and girls who were junior or seniors in high school) was through snowball sampling. But this plan proved to be of little use, since few respondents could supply details on other eligible respondents. As a consequence, the snowball sampling plan was abandoned early in the study. Instead, respondents were recruited from three other sources: from counselors at three local high schools, through CETA officials, and through the Youth Employment Service, an agency specializing in placement services for low-SES youth.

Interview Guide. To develop the interview guide, the major topics to be covered were first identified. They included future plans for marriage and family, future occupational plans, combining work and family, role models and significant others, and maternal employment. Several questions and probes were designed for each topic area. The primary intent here was not to specify exact wording, but rather to advise interviewers about the kinds of information of interest in the study. Because of the exploratory objectives of the study, open-ended questions and a semi-structured interviewing format were considered desirable. Two exceptions to this general format occurred for the concepts of sex-role attitudes and self-concept. Because existing scales measuring these concepts were adequate, and because comparative data (among other ethnic and SES groups) were useful, closed-ended,

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[1] Some of the original respondents from Year One had to be dropped from the analysis to ensure consistency in the definition of SES across years.

structured instruments were used with these concepts. Sex-role attitudes were assessed through the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS) designed by Spence and Helmreich (1972, 1973), whereas self-concept was assessed through Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Concept Scale.

The draft interview guide was pilot tested by a male and a female interviewer, who conducted two interviews each. As a result of the pilot testing, small changes were made in the interview guide, and a final version of the guide was drafted. The complete interview guide (used in the final year of the study) is reproduced as Appendix A, which combines questions asked of both males and females.

Data Collection. Data were collected by a white female[2] and a white male interviewer. The interviewers were trained by project staff in the kinds of information that each question was designed to elicit. Interviewers were also briefed about the general purpose and specific theoretical perspectives of the study.

Interviewers were provided with lists of potential respondents obtained through the different sources outlined earlier. Each potential respondent was contacted by one interviewer. The male interviewer contacted the male respondents, and the female interviewer contacted the female respondents. Interviewers told prospective respondents the general scope of the study, the time it would take to complete the interview (about one hour), and what respondents would be paid for their participation ($5 each). Interviewers also expressed a preference for interviews to be conducted in private. A convenient time and place was scheduled for each interview.

Before the actual interview was conducted, respondents were asked to sign consent forms indicating their willingness to participate, and signifying reimbursement for participation. The interviewers taped the interviews, with the respondents' consent, whenever it was felt that taping would not jeapordize the validity of the data. In fact, all interviews were tape recorded. But due to financial constraints, the tapes were not transcribed. They were used in piecing out relevant information when interviewer notes were not complete. But for the most part, interviewer notes were used as the primary data source.

Coding. The coding scheme was developed by project staff, based on a preliminary examination of the interview guide and on responses from 10 males and 10 females. The coding scheme was largely factual, and required few "judgment calls" on the part of the coder. Still, it was considered necessary to train the coders in the specific coding scheme. The two interviewers were assisted by another coder in this process. Problems and inconsistencies arising in the course of the coding were resolved through discussions between project staff and the coders. The

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[2]Most white female interviews were conducted by one interviewer. Some supplemental interviews were also done by other white female interviewers.

final coding scheme (used in Year Three of the study) is reported as Appendix B. The coded data were keypunched and entered into the computer for analysis.

Year Two Procedures

By and large, Year Two procedures replicated the efforts described for Year One. Exceptions to this trend are discussed below.

Respondents. The respondents in Year Two were 25 low-SES adolescent black females and 25 low-SES adolescent black males. All respondents were close to entering, or in, the final year of high school. No respondent was married, and none had any children. In this phase of the study, respondents were obtained primarily from the Youth Employment Service. About six of the 50 respondents were obtained through other local institutions addressing the needs of low-SES youth.

Interview Guide. The interview guide was modified and adapted for the Year Two sample. Experts in the areas of black culture and low-SES blacks were used as consultants to aid in the modification process. In general, this process produced only minor changes in the guide. Appendix A highlights differences in questions across the years.

Data Collection. Interviews were generally scheduled by the Youth Employment Service, and conducted on the agency's premises. Permission from respondents and their parents was obtained by the agency before interviews were scheduled.

Interviewers were a black male[3] and a black female graduate student from The University of Texas at Austin. As in Year One, male respondents were interviewed by the male interviewer, and female respondents by the female interviewer. The interviewers met with project staff after each had completed two interviews to iron out problems. For instance, some questions that white adolescents had answered easily were considered sensitive by the black respondents. Decisions were made about the centrality of these questions for the overall study design and objectives, and rules-of-thumb were established about the extent to which interviewers should pursue each question when encountering respondent resistance.

Coding. The coding scheme for Year Two was very similar to that used in Year One (changes are highlighted in Appendix B). But the coders were different. Independent judgments were considered preferable

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[3]The original black male interviewer had to be replaced after the first few interviews because he moved out of town. The replacement was also a black male student from The University of Texas at Austin. No substantive differences could be observed between the interviews conducted by the two interviewers.

to interviewers coding data they themselves had gathered. For this reason, project staff did the coding in Year Two.

Year Three Procedures

Again, Year Three procedures were similar to those used in the previous years, although small changes were still necessary to accommodate the special issues relevant to the target populations for this year.

Respondents. Respondents for this phase of the study were 20 low-SES adolescent Mexican American females and 25 low-SES adolescent Mexican American males. Descriptive characteristics of these respondents were similar to those of the other ethnic groups. As in Year Two, respondents for Year Three were obtained primarily from the Youth Employment Service, although a few respondents were also recruited through other local agencies addressing the needs of low-SES youth.

Interview Guide. The major change in the interview guide for Year Three was its presentation in both Spanish and English. The Year Two interview guide was translated into Spanish by the project staff. The translations were reviewed by several Mexican Americans who spoke English and Spanish fluently. The reviews focused on the accuracy of translation, and on appropriateness of idiom. Suggestions from these reviewers were incorporated in the final version of the Spanish translation. Other minor changes for Year Three are highlighted in Appendix A.

Data Collection. The basic data collection procedures for Year Three paralleled those for Year Two.

Interviews were conducted by one Mexican American female and two Mexican American males. All three were students at The University of Texas at Austin. Again, male interviewers did male interviews, and the female interviewer did the female interviews. Interviewers were trained by project staff, and instructed to use their judgment in determining whether questions should be asked in Spanish or English. Interviewers reviewed their work with project staff on an ongoing basis to address problems and issues encountered in the course of the interviewing, and to ensure that they were "on track" with respect both to characteristics of respondents and to the kinds of information they gathered and recorded.

Coding. The coding scheme for Year Three was similar to that used in the previous years. Again, project staff coded data based primarily on interviewer notes.

Analysis Strategy

Descriptive statistics were obtained for the entire sample, and for the different race/gender combinations. Relationships among certain variables were also examined. The following relationships were of interest:

1. the relationship of maternal employment to role models and significant others, sex-role attitudes, self-concept, and future plans;

2. the relationship of role models and significant others to sex-role attitudes, self-concept, and future plans;

3. the relationship of sex-role attitudes to self-concept and future plans; and

4. the relationship of self-concept to future plans.

In addition, for males only, the relationship of plans for future wives to maternal employment, role models and significant others, sex-role attitudes, self-concept, and future plans was also examined. These analyses follow the general pattern outlined in Figure 1. Relationships were examined for the overall sample and for each race/gender combination.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This chapter is divided into four major parts. First, respondents are described in terms of demographic/background characteristics, and in terms of the major variables of interest in the study. Second, relationships among these variables are reported. Third, adolescents from the three ethnic groups are compared. Finally, the accuracy of the predictions in Chapter I is examined.

Descriptive Information

Background Characteristics

Respondents for the study were 14 white females, 15 white males, 25 black females, 25 black males, 20 Mexican American females, and 25 Mexican American males. All respondents were from low-SES backgrounds, and all were juniors or seniors in high school. About half the respondents (48%) lived with both natural parents, and about a third (36%) lived with their mothers only. The remaining respondents lived with a natural- and a step-parent, with fathers only, or with relatives. The mean number of the respondents' sibling was 3.5, with a range from 0-15; the mean number of sibling still at home was 2.9 (range 0-9). About 60% of the respondents were either first- or second-born, and the range was first-born to sixteenth-born.

Parents of most respondents were employed. Ninety-three percent of fathers, and 65% of mothers, were currently employed. Although mothers often had white-collar occupations (46%), fathers generally did not. A large majority of fathers (60%) had skilled blue-collar occupations.

Most respondents (73%) reported having some household responsibilities. The most common responsibility was housework, although several adolescents also helped financially or with childcare.

Future Plans

Before specific occupational and family plans of respondents are described, a general observation is in order. A prediction in the study was that adolescents would find it difficult to verbalize their future plans, and to distinguish between aspirations and expectations. This prediction was not confirmed by our data. Rather, we found that respondents talked easily about their career and family plans, and were able to distinguish their dreams and hopes from their realistic expectations.

Marriage Plans. A major focus of the interview was the marriage plans of adolescents. Respondents were asked whether they expected or

GETTING MARRIED

White

Kurt is the oldest of two children and wants to be a chef. He expressed ambivalence when asked if he wanted to marry and gave as his reason poor previous experiences with women. He expects to marry eventually because "it will be time to settle down."

Sandra is the second of three children and wants to go to college. She wants to marry to have someone to be with so she will not be lonely. Sandra expects to marry because having a family is important to her and she would like to have children.

Black

Louis is the oldest of four children. He wants to go to college and join the service. Although he would like to have a family, because of his plans he is uncertain about marriage. If he marries at all he says it will only happen "if some girl comes along."

Gloria is the youngest of three children. She wants to marry for companionship, and has a boyfriend who is pressuring her to get married before she feels she will be ready. She says that she wants to wait until after she finishes school so that she "won't be tied down with somebody -- to do [her] own thing for a while."

Mexican American

Roberto is the fourth of five children who live with their parents and grandmother. He says he would like to wait until his late twenties to marry. By then Roberto thinks he "will be settled and want someone to share [his] life with." He says he expects to marry because he does not "want to be alone all [his] life."

Marta is the third of six children. She would like to wait until she is twenty-five to marry but expects to marry when she is twenty instead. She thinks "it will be neat to be married, to share things with someone." She expects to marry because she "will fall in love someday."

wanted to get married. About three-quarters (73%) said they wanted to be married, but a greater number (88%) expected to be married. In general, females were more likely to want and expect to be married. The one exception to this trend occurred for marriage expectations: 88% of the black males, compared to 76% of the black females, expected to be married. The mean ideal age for marriage was 24.24 among males and 22.59 among females. The mean expected age for marriage was 23.7 among males and 20.89 among females. Black females had the lowest aspired marriage age (20.9) and black and Mexican American females the lowest expected marriage age (20.3). Black adolescents were the most likely (78%) to want to be married, and Mexican American adolescents the least likely (69%). On the other hand, white adolescents expected most often to be married (97%), followed by Mexican American adolescents (89%) and black adolescents (82%).

The most common reasons for wanting or expecting to marry were companionship and to have children. The reasons for not wanting or expecting to marry included the fact that marriage placed restrictions on mobility, fun, etc. Respondents were sometimes able to give reasons for discrepancies between their aspirations and expectations. Three males (one white, one black, and one Mexican American) thought they would get someone pregnant and have to marry her; and 11 adolescents (two white females, three white males, three Mexican American females, and three Mexican American males) thought they might find someone whom they wanted to marry. Illustrations of respondents' marriage plans are provided in the overleaf.

Family Plans. The family plans of adolescents were also of interest in the study. Respondents were asked about their aspirations and expectations with respect to children. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents wanted children, and the same proportion expected to have children. Females were slightly more likely to want children (92% versus 83%), but both groups expected children in about equal proportions (88% versus 86%). Black adolescents were most likely to want children (96%), followed by Mexican Americans (87%) and whites (72%). Respondents generally wanted to have about two children. The most common reason for wanting children was that the adolescents liked children (46%). Reasons for not wanting children included the responsibility and the trouble that children could entail.

Many respondents (87%) also expected to have children, and there were no major gender or race differences in this regard. Black males were the most likely to expect children (92%), and white males the least likely (80%). The other race/gender combinations fell within this range. The number of children expected was slightly higher than that to which the adolescents aspired, but the mode was still two. The most common reason for expecting children was also that the adolescents liked children (31%), followed by the fact that everyone has children (16%). Reasons for not expecting children were similar to reasons for not wanting them.

Respondents were also asked about discrepancies between their family aspirations and expectations. Four respondents (three white males and one Mexican American male) mentioned accidental pregnancy as

FUTURE OCCUPATIONAL PLANS - MALE

White

Stephen is interested in becoming an archeological oceanographer and knows people involved in this work. But he thinks that health and money problems make this an unrealistic goal. He has worked as a salesman at a lumber company with his father and expects to become a lumber wholesaler because "sales is the easy way out."

Eddie has two years experience working for a paint and body shop and enjoys the work very much. He aspires to own a large custom body shop but expects that he will only work in one instead. He says, "it would just take too much money" to ever own a large shop of his own.

Black

Reggie would like to become a truck driver. He likes the idea of "going places [and getting] to travel from town to town." He expects to be a construction worker, a job in which he has some part-time experience, however, because he doesn't know how to drive a truck. Last year he thought about being a professional football player, but has abandoned the idea because he says he would have to go to college.

Gerald thinks he would enjoy "putting out fires, providing medical care and saving lives" as a firefighter; but thinks that he "wouldn't like the pressures and danger" of the job. He thinks he will become a restaurant manager or supervisor instead because it is a job he knows something about.

Mexican American

Domingo wants and expects to be an electronic technician. He is currently enrolled in an electronics course in high school and his teacher has encouraged him to continue in this field. Domingo recognizes that he will need some additional training and plans to join the Air Force after he graduates. He says that the Air Force will provide training and experience and that the only bad part about the service is "having to work on weekends."

Beto wants to be a mechanic because he enjoys "working with his hands." He says that in addition to his father, he has nine other relatives who are mechanics. With his father's help and a course he hopes to take in high school, he expects to have little trouble getting a good job.

HAVING CHILDREN

White

Scott is the third of four children. He wants to have a family and says that having children is his primary reason for marriage. He wants and expects to have at least two children so that he will have someone to love and someone who needs him.

Terry is the youngest of five children. She would like to have two children of her own because she likes children and enjoys working with them. She expects, however, to have only one because her boyfriend "doesn't care for kids much" and thinks that "kids cause problems."

Black

William is the oldest of three children. He says that he would like to have children because he thinks they would be "nice to play with and take care of." He expects to have two children because "most people do."

Gloria expects to have children because she likes them. She thinks it would be fun to take care of children and to take them places. Although Gloria is not sure how many children she will actually have, she says that she would like to have at least three.

Mexican American

Roberto wants and expects to have two children. He says children "are like monuments, something you leave behind." He also says that his "life would not be wasted because [he] brought up a child."

Julia is the eighth of eleven children. She would like to have four children but expects to have six. She says that she wants children so that she "can raise them the way" she wants to and expects to have children because "that's what happens when you get married."

the reason they did not want children but still expected to have them. One black female said career and time conflicts were the reasons why she did not expect children, even though she wanted them. No other respondents mentioned any discrepancy reasons.

Illustrations of adolescents' family plans are provided in overleaf a.

Occupational Plans (Males). Respondents were also asked about their future occupational plans. Ninety-five percent of the females, and 98% of the males, said they wanted to work. All males, and 93% of the females, expected to work.

Most males (94%) aspired to jobs in traditionally male-intensive fields, and most aspired to white collar (36%), skilled (22%), or professional (19%) jobs. But over half the males did not have much information about these jobs, and an overwhelming majority (83%) said they needed special training for the job. Fifty-nine percent of the males knew someone who had the kind of job they wanted. In most cases, this person was a relative. Prestige scores for these jobs were computed based on the coding scheme suggested by Siegel (1971). The mean prestige score of jobs to which males aspired was 50.13. White males had the highest aspirations (53.87), followed by black males (49.38) and Mexican American males (48.60).

The jobs these adolescent males in fact expected to have were somewhat different. Most (94%) were still traditionally male-intensive. The highest proportion (36%) expected skilled jobs, however, followed by white collar (25%) and unskilled (19%) jobs. Most male respondents (82%) had some information about the jobs they expected, although many (73%) thought they needed training in the relevant skills. Over three-quarters of the males knew someone who held a job they expected and, in about half the instances, this person was a friend. The mean prestige scores for expected jobs was 41.38, with the highest mean among blacks (42.40), followed by Mexican Americans (41.75) and whites (39.07).

It appears paradoxically that white males want the most prestigious jobs but expect the least prestigious ones. Reasons for these discrepancies typically include difficulties in acquiring the necessary training and the fact that respondents did not have many skills. The occupational plans of low-SES adolescent males are illustrated in overleaf b.

Occupational Plans (Females). Most females (71%) aspired to traditionally female-intensive jobs. Equal proportions (35% each) wanted white collar or professional jobs. A little over half the females knew something about their ideal jobs, but 80% needed additional training for these jobs. Fewer than half (41%) of the females knew someone who had the kind of job to which they aspired. These individuals tended most often to be relatives. The mean prestige score for females' ideal jobs was 46.79, with blacks having the highest scores (47.75), followed by Mexican Americans (46.65) and whites (45.36).

FUTURE OCCUPATIONAL PLANS - FEMALE

White

Sheila would like to be a secretary "because you get to meet important people, even if you're not important yourself." She does not believe she will though, because "I don't believe I'm high class enough. I don't have the training and don't have the money to get [it]." After graduation, Sheila expects to join the service as many of her family members have. She thinks that the service will provide her with the training and experience she lacks.

Terry would like to be a housewife but expects that she will have to work for financial reasons. She has very strong feelings about a "woman's place [being] in the kitchen." But since she thinks she will have to work outside the home, she plans to work at a nursery because she "likes to teach kids."

Black

Rachel would like to own her own beauty shop someday. Although she would like to become a hair stylist, she thinks she will probably work as a secretary or receptionist in an office. She is taking typing courses in high school because she thinks she will not be able to get the money she would need to go to beauty school after she graduates.

Margaret would like to be a secretary in a law office. What she thinks she would like about this job is "writing letters for a lawyer to tell people they're in trouble or good news." She is afraid, however, that she will lose interest in her goal and end up taking "the best thing" that comes along. She expects to work "cleaning house, washing dishes or working in a plant" as her mother does.

Mexican American

Rosa says that she would like to work but does not think that her future husband will permit it. She thinks that the job she would enjoy the most would be that of a nurse but expects to be a waitress instead. She says that in order to be a nurse she "would have to go to college, and there's just no money for that."

Marta wants and expects to work after she finishes school. She says that she enjoys work and would like "to save money for the future, for children." Marta says she would like nursing but feels that she does not have the necessary skills and that she "should have started thinking about serious goals and studying earlier." Instead she expects to use the training she has acquired in high school to get a secretarial position.

Most females (77%) also expected traditionally female-intensive jobs, and the largest proportion expected white collar (44%) or unskilled (25%) jobs. These females tended to know something about their expected jobs (71%), and 63% said they needed additional training. About three-fifths (61%) knew someone holding the kind of job they expected, and this individual was typically a friend. The mean prestige score of the jobs females expected was 38.96. The highest score was obtained by white females (41.86), followed by Mexican Americans (38.25) and blacks (37.83).

Reasons for discrepancies between work aspirations and expectations were similar for males and females. Illustrations of females' occupational plans are provided in the overleaf.

A race by gender interaction is suggested here. Whites expect the most prestigious jobs among females and the least prestigious jobs among males. The reverse is true of blacks. On the other hand, whites want the least prestigious jobs among females and the most prestigious jobs among males.

Plans for Combining Work and Family (Males). We also asked adolescents about specific plans for combining work and family. Among females, we asked respondents to talk about themselves; among males, however, future wives were the foci for these questions.

Over half the male respondents (57%) never wanted their wives to combine work and family. Fewer than one fifth (18%) wanted their wives to combine the two always, and the remainder thought the presence of children should determine whether or not their wives worked. Of the three ethnic groups, Mexican Americans reported most often (71%) that they did not want their wives to work ever; they also reported most often (29%) that they wanted for their wives to work always. Blacks and whites were much more likely to want wives' working to be contingent on whether or not there were children.

The adolescent males were also asked whether or not they expected their wives to work. Over half (57%) thought that, realistically, their wives would always work. Only a few (22%) expected that their wives would never work for pay outside the home. With expectations as with aspirations, Mexican Americans were bimodal: 79% expected their wives to work always, and 17% expected their wives never to work. Only one Mexican American male mentioned children in this context. Blacks were the most likely (33%) to expect their wives never to work. The reason mentioned most often for discrepancies between aspirations and expectations for wives was financial necessity.

Males were also asked about their predictions of what their wives would want to do. All the Mexican American males, and most (91%) of black males thought their wives would always want to work. Whites, however, were divided aout this. Some thought their wives would always want to work, some that children would affect whether or not their wives wanted to work, some that their wives would only want to work before marriage, and some that their wives would never want to work.

PROBLEM SOLUTIONS - MALES

White

Chuck believes that Mr. Smith should stay with his current job in order to please his wife and spend more time with the children.

Michael thinks that Mrs. Jones should take the job. Mr. Jones is "sort of correct" because she should be with the children. But, he says, she should be able to do things on her own.

Eric thinks that Mr. Anderson should stay with the child and try to find a better paying job.

Tom believes that Mr. Anderson should stay at home so that there will be more money available to care for the child.

Black

William thinks that Mr. Smith should find another job because: "It's better to watch children grow and be with them to prevent them from becoming criminals."

Louis feels that Mrs. Jones should take the job; "her children are older and in school. It would give her something to do -- more responsibility than cleaning house."

Mitchell thinks that Mrs. Anderson should stay home with the child regardless of how much money she can earn because "a woman should."

Robert believes that Mrs. Anderson should stay home because "women know most about diseases." Although he thinks the idea of Mrs. Anderson earning more than her husband is unlikely, Robert thinks that Mr. Anderson should stay home "if they need the money to pay medical bills."

Mexican American

Renato thinks that Mr. Ruiz (Smith) should not take the job offered, but should look for another one "with regular hours so he can spend time with his wife and kids."

Miguel says that Mrs. Gonzales (Jones) "should do what she wants and if they need the stove she should take the job," but that her husband is right because "she really should stay home and care for the kids."

Beto thinks that Mrs. Ortiz (Anderson) is the one who should stay home in either case: "It's not a question of who makes more money, it's a question of the child's care -- she stays."

SEX-ROLE PROBLEM SITUATIONS

Mr. and Mrs. Smith (Ruiz) are married and have two children ages 3 and 5. Mr. Smith has been offered a job which pays more money but which would mean working odd hours. Mrs. Smith doesn't want him to take it because it would mean that he would rarely be with the children. What should he do? Why?

Mr. and Mrs. Jones (Gonzales) are married and have two children ages 6 and 8. Mrs. Jones has been offered a job and she wants to take it because she wants to buy a new stove. Mr. Jones does not want her to take the job. What should she do? Why? Is Mr. Jones right to not want her to take the job? Why?

Mr. and Mrs. Anderson (Ortiz) have a seriously ill child who requires almost continuous care. One of them needs to stay home with the child. Who should stay? What should they do if she could get a job earning $15,000 a year and he could only earn $9,000 a year at his job?

COMBINING WORK AND FAMILY - MALES

White

Sam is the oldest of three children. When he thinks about being 25, he sees himself as being married, having children, and working 48 hours a week as a construction worker. When not working, he plans to spend as much time as possible with his family. His wife will not be working and she will take care of the house and the children since he will be earning the money.

Tom says he would like his wife to stop working after the birth of their first child. He would like her never to work again, but his expectation is that she would go back to work as soon as the child entered school. Tom believes that his wife would not want to work and would only do so as a financial necessity.

Black

James, who would like to own his own business, imagines that at 25 he will have to work less that 40 hours a week; the remainder of his time would be spent at home. He sees his major responsibilities as "making sure that nothing goes wrong and keeping the bills paid." Although he sees his wife as having the primary responsibility for child care, he plans to help her with cooking and keeping the house clean.

Arnold is the oldest of six children. He wants to marry at an early age and hopes someday to have three children. Arnold would rather that his wife stay home and never work. He thinks, however, that she may not be happy at home all the time and says that "if she wanted to work she could."

Mexican American

Renato thinks that by the time he is 25 he will be married and have more than one child. He says that after working as an electrician he will spend his evenings at home with his family. After going out to dinner he imagines they would return home to watch television. He says that he will be responsible for "taking care of [his] wife and children," and that his wife's primary responsibility will be to "watch the kids while [he is] at work."

Miguel is the second of six children who live with their parents. He says he would rather that his wife never work, but he expects her to have at least a part-time job "because she can't stay around the house all day" and working "will keep her amused." He says, his wife would be "a good mother if she didn't beat the kids, and a good wife if she didn't ask [him] any questions."

Most male respondents expected to be working when they were 25. Most (90%) also expected a traditional division of household labor, i.e., they would be the breadwinners and their wives would be the homemakers (see overleaf a).

The three sex-role problem situations we posed to the respondents are reproduced in overleaf b. In the first situation, about half the males (55%) thought Mr. Smith should not take the job; 37% thought he should take the job; and the remainder (8%) thought he should find another job. White males were the most likely (77%) to think that Mr. Smith should not take the job, followed by Mexican Americans (54%) and blacks (44%). The reason mentioned most often for Mr. Smith not taking the job was that the family was more important than money. The most common reason why adolescent males thought Mr. Smith should take the job was money.

With respect to the second problem situation, our male respondents were about evenly divided. Fifty-two percent thought Mrs. Jones should take the job, and 48% thought she should not. The reasons given most often for Mrs. Jones taking the job were that she wanted the stove and that she should be able to do what she wanted to. Reasons for her not taking the job were that the family was important, and that Mr. Jones could buy her the stove. The male respondents were evenly divided about whether Mr. Jones was right in not wanting his wife to take the job. The most common reason for considering Mr. Jones right was that the family was important; those who thought Mr. Jones was wrong often thought so because they respected Mrs. Jones' rights.

In the third situation, respondents thought overwhelmingly (87%) that Mrs. Anderson should stay at home, primarily because she could take better care of the child. The answers changed, however, when Mrs. Anderson earned more than did Mr. Anderson. About three fifths (59%) thought he should stay at home; another third (34%) still thought she should; and the remainder offered other solutions (e.g., to hire a nurse).

Male respondents' solutions to the three problem situations are illustrated in overleaf c. Overall, male respondents displayed somewhat mixed sex-role attitudes. Although they manifested fairly traditional attitudes in some instances, they also appeared willing to alter their attitudes based on the specific situation.

Plans for Combining Work and Family (Females). Sixty percent of the females wanted always to work, 11% never to work, and the remainder thought children would determine whether or not they wanted to work. About the same proportions expected to work and not to work.

When these females were asked about what they thought their future husband would want them to do, the responses for the three races were quite different. The majority of black females (60%) thought their spouses would always want them to work; the majority (64%) of white females thought their husbands would only want them to work before marriage; and half of the Mexican American females thought their husbands would never want them to work.

PROBLEM SOLUTIONS - FEMALE

White

Kara thinks Mr. Smith should take the job because her father has a job like that and it does not bother her family. If he comes in late, they see him the next day.

Andrea believes that Mrs. Jones should take the job and that it is good that she is trying to get the money herself. She says that Mr. Jones should be grateful that his wife didn't ask him for the money.

Susan thinks that Mr. Anderson should support his family and that mothers are better at caring for children. She says, however, that if it doesn't bother Mr. Anderson if his wife works, then Mrs. Anderson should if she makes more money.

Black

Cynthia believes that Mr. Smith should take the job for the extra money to support the family "even if he won't be with the kids."

Carol thinks that if money is the issue then Mrs. Smith should get a job and a babysitter so that she can help out.

Margaret says that it would be wrong for Mrs. Jones to take the job because she "wouldn't have any time to be with the kids and a mother should spend time with her children."

Sharon feels that, all things being equal, Mrs. Anderson should stay with the child. But if Mrs. Anderson could earn more money than her husband then he should stay home "because it would get him closer to the child and because of the money."

Mexican American

Anita thinks that Mr. Ruiz (Smith) should either not take the job or find another because "his family needs him more; the kids are small and need both parents."

Margarita feels that Mrs. Gonzales (Jones) should take the job because "she really wants the stove" and adds that her husband is being unfair: "If he can buy her the stove, then he should buy it, otherwise, let her work for it."

Stella feels that "the child should be more important to [Mrs. Ortiz (Anderson)] than her job" and that even if she could earn more money than her husband "no one else should take on her responsibilities as a mother."

COMBINING WORK AND FAMILY - FEMALES

White

Terry envisions a very traditional life at 25. She will fix her husband breakfast every morning before he goes to work, and dinner every night. During the day she will care for the house and the children. Her duties to the family will be to keep the children well-fed, well-clothed and to make sure that they have "proper manners." Terry says that she and her family will spend their weekends at the lake because her husband will like to fish and camp out.

Kate would like to work full-time after marriage until she has children. She thinks she should stay home until her children are at least nine or ten years old because she says that she does not believe in day-care centers. She would like to work part-time while the children are in school but she says that her husband would not want her to work unless there were financial problems.

Black

Margaret imagines that at 25 her typical Tuesday will begin with her taking the children to the babysitter. After eight hours at work, she would pick up the children, take them home, fix dinner and wait for her husband to arrive. She sees herself as having the "biggest job" caring for the children; and her husband's chief responsibilities as being "things that are broken, taking out the trash and making sure we have food in the house."

Susan is the youngest of six children and wants to be an accountant. On the subject of combining work, marriage, and children she says, "I'll work, get married, have kids and still work." This is something she and her boyfriend have already discussed and agreed upon.

Mexican American

Margarita is the youngest of three children and neither wants nor expects to work after she marries. She anticipates that her future husband will share her belief that she should "stay home and be a housewife." But she thinks that she will end up doing whatever he wants her to do because "he'll probably get his way, and arguing wouldn't help."

Anita sees herself married with one child when she is 25. She says that after working full-time she would "come home, clean house, and start cooking." In the evening she would relax with her family. She imagines her primary duty as caring for her husband and children, while her husband looks after the car, the lawn, and the bills.

Many of the females saw themselves working full-time outside the home when they were 25. Ninety-six percent of the females also saw a traditional division of household labor when they were 25. Illustrations of females' plans for combining career and family are contained in overleaf a.

In response to the first problem situation, 55% of the females thought Mr. Smith should take the job, primarily because of the money. Thirty-four percent thought he should not take the job, generally because his family was more important.

In the second situation, 70% thought that Mrs. Jones should go to work, usually because she wanted the stove; another reason was that she should do what she wanted to do. About 30% of the female respondents thought that Mrs. Jones should not take the job because of her obligations to her family.

The majority of the females (92%) thought Mrs. Anderson should stay at home. The others offered different solutions, such as sharing the responsibilities. The most common explanation offered for the choice was that Mrs. Anderson could take better care of the sick child. But when Mrs. Anderson earned more than Mr. Anderson, almost half (43%) of the females thought he should stay with the child. Female responses to the three problem situations are illustrated in overleaf b. Overall, female respondents appeared realistically attuned to current constraints. Regardless of their dreams and hopes, these respondents knew that financial need would dictate the shape their lives eventually took.

Social-Psychological Variables

Three sets of social-psychological variables were of interest in the study: role models and significant others, sex-role attitudes, and self-concept.

Role Models and Significant Others. Forty-eight percent of the females, compared to 39% of the males, had role models. In general, role models tended to be of the same sex. The most common role models were relatives, followed by celebrities, mother, and friends. Respondents were most likely to admire their role models' personalities (48%) and life styles (22%). Only about a third of the respondents (36%) knew someone who had both the kind of job and the kind of family life style that respondents admired. About half the respondents knew someone with the kind of job they wanted. Males were more likely than females to know someone with a job they wanted, but less likely than females to know someone with a job they expected.

When we asked respondents whose opinion they valued the most, about half (48%) named their mothers. Other significant others were of the same sex more often than of the opposite sex. For most respondents (90% females and 98% males), significant others thought they should have jobs. Eighty percent of the significant others wanted male respondents to have male-intensive jobs and females to have female-intensive jobs.

Significant others for males thought overwhelmingly (98%) that they should combine job and family; a smaller proportion (61%) held this opinion for females. Significant others for females tended to think it was reasonable for wives to work more often (63%) than did significant others for males (49%). Significant others for males were also more likely (57%) to frown upon working mothers than were significant others for females (45%).

Sex-Role Attitudes. This concept was assessed through the AWS. Males had a mean AWS score of 31.91, and females 32.61. The least traditional sex-role attitudes were exhibited by black females ($\bar{X}$=33.12), and the most traditional by white males ($\bar{X}$=31.67).

Self-Concept. The self-concepts of males and females were quite similar (means 29.28 and 29.10 respectively). The highest self-concept was displayed by white males ($\bar{X}$=33.60) and the lowest by Mexican American females ($\bar{X}$=26.20). In general, self-concepts of males were more positive than those of females; self-concepts of whites were the most positive, followed by blacks and Mexican Americans, in that order.

Relationships Among the Variables

This section is organized in terms of the conceptual framework in Figure 1. Relationships of maternal employment to other variables are examined first. The relationships of role models and significant others to the remaining variables are examined next, and so forth.

Maternal Employment

Research has indicated that the effects of maternal employment are rather complex, and that the mere fact of the mother being employed is not sufficient to explain these effects. We asked respondents several questions about maternal employment: whether their mothers were employed now or while they were growing up, the skill levels of mothers' jobs, reasons for mothers' working, mothers', fathers', respondents' attitudes about mothers' working, and so forth. Since mothers' employment status per se had little variance in our data set, we examined instead the relationships of attitudes toward maternal employment to the other variables.

Most respondents believed that their mothers enjoyed working. But respondents were less positive about their own or their fathers' attitudes about mothers' working. About two-fifths of the respondents had positive attitudes about mothers' working, about two-fifths were neutral, and the remaining one-fifth were negative. Fathers often tended to be neutral about mothers working (54%); only 13% were negative. Females reported somewhat less positive attitudes than did males.

Some relationships among the different maternal employment variables could be detected. Mothers' attitudes about working were related

to fathers' and respondents' attitudes; mothers were also more likely to be working now if fathers felt good about mothers' previous jobs. The data also suggest that how mothers and fathers feel about maternal employment while the respondent is growing up largely determines respondents' attitudes about maternal employment.

Future Plans. As expected, maternal employment (both previous and current) per se was not related to the future plans of adolescents. But some of the attitudes about maternal employment were relevant to adolescents' occupational plans. Adolescents whose mothers worked in white collar or professional occupations while they (i.e., the respondents) were growing up were more likely to want and expect male-intensive jobs. Adolescents whose mothers worked in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs were more likely to want and expect female-intensive jobs. These relationships were insignificant when mother's current work status was considered. The only variable with which mother's current occupational classification correlated was the occupational classification of adolescents' ideal jobs ($r=.25$, $p<.05$).

Although mother's attitudes about working were unrelated to adolescent's future plans, father's attitudes (particularly when the adolescent was growing up) were related to whether he/she expected to work, and also to the sex-typing of the job. If the father's attitude was positive, the adolescent was more likely to expect to work, and to want a traditionally male-intensive job. Adolescents' attitudes about mothers' working currently were also related to whether the adolescent expected to work in the future ($r=.27$, $p<.05$).

Prestige scores for aspired and expected jobs were generally unrelated to maternal employment variables. Only one exception to this trend occurred: adolescents who felt positive about their mothers working while they were growing up expected to hold more prestigious jobs than did adolescents whose attitudes were negative ($r=.25$, $p<.05$).

In terms of future occupational plans, maternal employment during the period of growing up seems to be more important than does the current employment status of the mother. No major race or gender differences could be detected in this regard.

Maternal employment was generally unrelated to the future family plans of adolescents. But fathers' attitudes about current and previous maternal employment were significant: if the fathers' attitudes were negative, adolescents were more likely to want to marry at an earlier age than if the fathers' attitudes were positive ($r=.29$; $p<.05$; $r=.38$, $p<.01$). Maternal attitudes about employment also predicted the number of children adolescents wanted: when mother's attitude was positive, respondents wanted fewer children ($r=.25$, $p<.05$).

In short, maternal employment does affect the future family plans of adolescents, but the overall impact is weaker than expected.

Role Models and Significant Others. Few significant relationships could be detected between maternal employment and role models and significant others. The data suggest that if their mothers are

currently employed in higher status jobs, adolescents are more likely to mention having role models than if their mothers are employed in lower status jobs ($r=.28$, $p<.05$), but respondents whose mothers had previously worked in higher status jobs were less likely to have career role models than others ($r=.25$, $p<.05$).

Sex-Role Attitudes. Scores on the AWS tended not to be related to maternal employment. Only one significant relationship emerged. Respondents who had traditional sex-role attitudes were more likely to think negatively of maternal employment than were respondents with less traditional sex-role attitudes ($r=.27$, $p<.05$).

Self-Concept. None of the relationships between self-concept and maternal employment were significant.

Summary. Maternal employment variables were generally weak predictors of adolescents' future plans. Maternal employment also tended to have only sporadic relationships with other social-psychological variables.

Role Models and Significant Others

Respondents were asked who they wanted to be like, what they admired about this person, if they knew someone with the kind of job they wanted, etc. These questions provided information about role models. Respondents were also asked whose opinion they valued the most, what this person's opinion of them was, etc. These questions provided information about significant others.

Role model and significant other variables related to each other and to future plans, sex-role attitudes, and self-concept only very sporadically. Respondents who knew someone with the kind of job they wanted were more likely to want to work ($r=.20$, $p<.05$), but also wanted lower-status jobs ($r=.21$, $p<.05$). Also, if the significant other thought that the respondent should go into a traditionally male job, respondents were more likely to want traditionally male jobs, and vice versa ($r=.81$, $p<.01$). This significant other variable was also related to sex-role attitudes ($r=.36$, $p<.05$), and to the number of children the respondent expected to have ($r=.37$, $p<.05$).

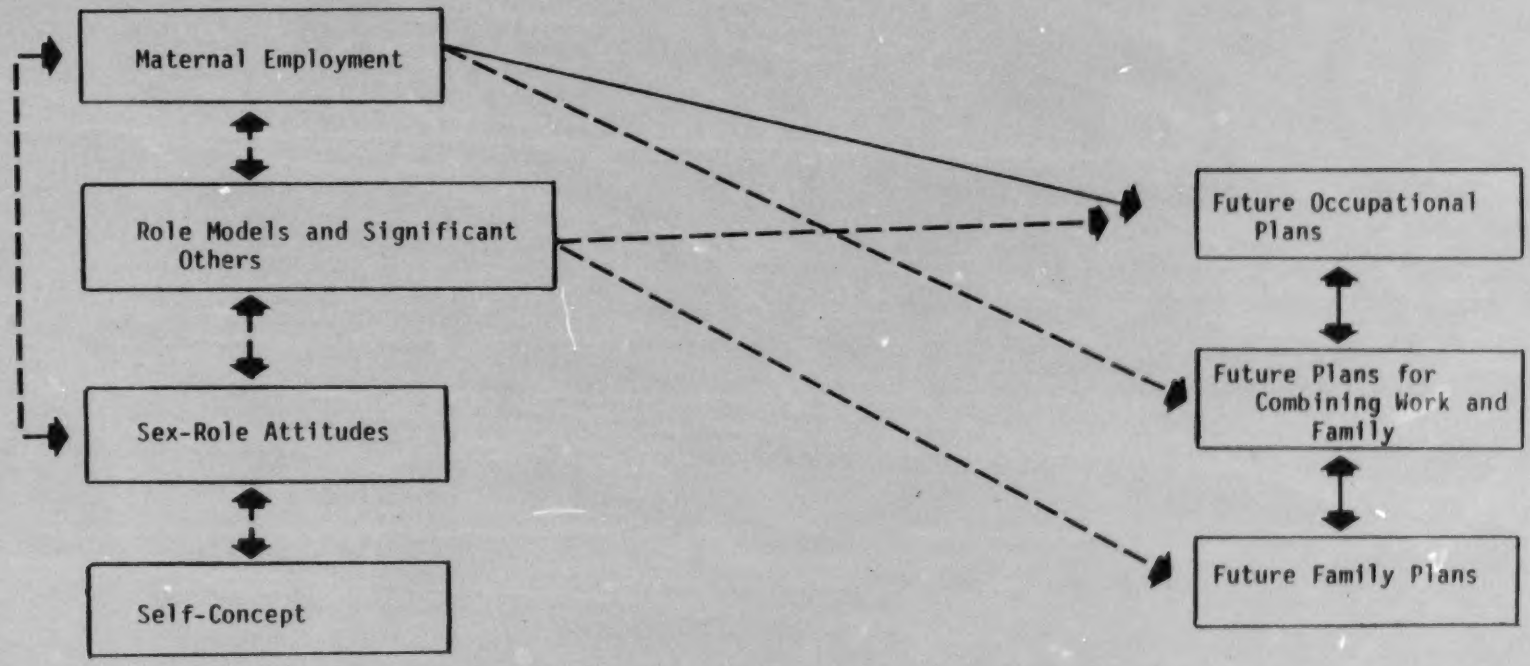
In all, it appears that role models and significant others have some, but inconsistent, relationships with adolescents' future plans, sex-role attitudes, and self-concept.

Sex-Role Attitudes and Self-Concept

These variables were unrelated to adolescents' future plans regarding work, marriage, combining the two, and children. Sex-role attitudes and self-concept were, however, related to each other ($r=.25$, $p<.01$). Adolescents with traditional sex-role attitudes had poorer self-concepts and vice versa.

FIGURE 2

Empirical Relationships Among the Variables for Low-SES Adolescents



Solid lines indicate consistent effects.
Dotted lines indicate tentative findings.

Summary

The results show that most of the background and social-psychological variables have, at best, inconsistent relationships with the future plans of adolescents. These empirical results are summarized in Figure 2, shown overleaf. Figure 2 displays the empirical verification of Figure 1 among low-SES adolescents.

Comparisons Among Race and Gender Groups

It is possible to compare the attitudes, plans, and responses of male and female low-SES adolescents from the three ethnic groups in the present data. Some of these comparisons were reported throughout the foregoing narrative, and are further detailed here. But because of the relatively small numbers of respondents from each group, these comparisons should be viewed as tentative, at best. More extensive data collection is necessary before the findings from the present study can be accepted unequivocally.

Background Variables

Of the three ethnic groups, maternal employment was most common among blacks, followed by Mexican Americans and whites. Mothers of black adolescents were more likely to have worked, both currently and while the respondent was growing up.

Mexican American adolescents came from the largest families, having an average of 4.29 sibling. Black adolescents were next, with an average of 3.40 sibling. White adolescents came from the smallest families, with an average of 2.60 sibling.

Future Plans

Marriage and Family. All three groups of adolescents were similar in that most aspired and expected to be married. Marriage aspirations were most common among blacks, and marriage expectations among whites. Low-SES blacks wanted and expected to be married at an earlier age than did low-SES whites or Mexican Americans. The differences between aspirations and expectations about when they would be married were smaller for blacks than for the other two groups.

Blacks were most likely to want and expect children, followed by Mexican Americans, and then whites. No major differences could be observed in terms of the number of children these adolescents wanted or expected.

Work. Almost all the males from all three groups wanted to work (one Mexican American male was the exception), and all expected to work. One female from each ethnic group did not want to work. All white females expected to work, but two Mexican American and two black females did not. Males from all three groups tended to want jobs in male-intensive occupations. The pattern was most pronounced for white

males, followed by Mexican Americans and blacks. White females were the least likely to want female-intensive jobs; Mexican American females were the most likely. A similar pattern was also observed with respect to occupational expectations.

White adolescents tended to want the most prestigious jobs, followed by blacks and Mexican Americans. The same ranking prevailed with respect to prestige of expected jobs, but the actual scores were rather similar across groups. For all three groups, prestige scores for aspired jobs were considerably higher than prestige scores for expected jobs.

Combining Work and Family. Mexican American adolescents were the most likely to want their wives never to work, followed by blacks, and then whites. Blacks were the most likely to want wives always to work, and whites were the least likely. Blacks and whites were much more prone than Mexican Americans to think that marriage and family should moderate whether or not wives worked. Mexican Americans were almost evenly split, with half wanting wives never to work and half wanting wives to work always.

The pattern of expectations was different. The largest proportion of Mexican Americans expected wives to work always, followed by blacks, and then whites. The same ranking also occurred with respect to expecting wives never to work. Whites were the most likely to expect the presence of children to moderate whether or not wives worked.

Race differences were also observed in what these adolescents thought their spouses would want to do. Black and Mexican American males expected their wives to work; white males were divided on the issue. On the other hand, Mexican American females thought their husbands would never want them to work, and white females that their husbands would only want them to work until marriage. Blacks were the only race to show consistency between male and females' expectations about spouses' preferences.

Role Models and Significant Others

White adolescents reported having role models most often, followed by Mexican American and black adolescents. Mexican Americans were the most likely to know someone with the kind of job they wanted, whereas whites were the most likely to know someone with the kind of job they expected. No major race differences could be noted in terms of the types of role models these adolescents had.

Black adolescents, particularly females, were the least likely to report having a significant other, and Mexican Americans were the most likely. Mothers were significant others for a majority of Mexican Americans and blacks. Although the frequency was low, whites tended to be the most likely to have significant others of the opposite sex, and blacks most likely to have significant others of the same sex.

Sex-Role Attitudes

Blacks had the most nontraditional attitudes of the three groups, followed by whites and Mexican Americans. The same ranking was observed when only females were compared, but Mexican American males had less traditional attitudes than did white males. In other words, white males had the most, and black females the least, traditional sex-role attitudes.

Self-Concept

Predictably, whites had the most positive self-concepts. Mexican Americans had the poorest self-concepts, and blacks fell in between. Among whites and Mexican Americans, males had better self-concepts than did females; the opposite was true among blacks.

Summary

The picture emerging from the data is consistent with expectation. Black mothers were most likely to be employed, and Mexican Americans had the largest families. All three groups were similar in wanting and expecting to marry, and blacks wanted and expected to marry at the earliest age. Blacks were also the most likely to want and expect children.

Males from all three groups wanted and expected to work. Most females also wanted and expected to work. Generally, white males were most likely to want male-intensive jobs, but white females were the least likely to want female-intensive jobs. Whites wanted jobs with the greatest prestige, and Mexican Americans with the least prestige. Blacks were the most likely to want their wives to work always, and whites the least likely.

No major differences were observed in terms of role models and significant others. Blacks had the least traditional sex-role attitudes and Mexican Americans the most traditional. Whites had the most positive and Mexican Americans the least positive self-concepts.

Expected Versus Actual Findings

We made some predictions in Chapter I about the future plans of low-SES adolescents. The empirical accuracy of these predictions is examined below.

Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

Predictions. Because of their SES, both male and female adolescents from lower-class families can be expected to have difficulty verbalizing their occupational aspirations and expectations. Among these adolescents, occupational aspirations will be higher than expectations. Furthermore, the discrepancy between occupational aspirations and expectations will be highest for black adolescents and lowest for

white adolescents. Discrepancies between aspirations and expectations will also be higher for females than for males. Most adolescents will expect to hold skilled blue collar or low-prestige professional-type jobs. The occupational aspirations of all adolescents will be shaped by the jobs held by parents, role models, and significant others.

Findings. Respondents in our sample were able to verbalize their occupational plans. Adolescents tended more often to have information about the kinds of jobs they expected than about the kinds of jobs they wanted. Still, respondents were able to distinguish between aspirations and expectations, and to make fairly cogent statements about each.

As predicted, occupational aspirations were higher than occupational expectations. This was true regardless of race or gender in terms of the prestige of the jobs to which the adolescents aspired. Contrary to expectation, however, the greatest discrepancy between aspirations and expectations occurred among white males, followed by black females. The smallest discrepancies occurred among white females. Overall, the occupational aspirations and expectations of whites were the highest, followed by blacks and Mexican Americans. Both males and females wanted jobs held by people of their own sex; this was more prevalent among males than among females.

Few adolescents wanted unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, but about a quarter expected to hold such jobs. Most adolescents wanted white collar or professional jobs, but fewer than half actually expected such jobs.

Maternal employment, role models, and significant others tended to be only weakly related to the occupational plans of low-SES adolescents.

In short, adolescents in our sample were typically able to describe their ideal and expected occupational futures. The adolescents also seemed to be realistically attuned to occupational facts, even though they aspired to brighter futures.

Combining Work and Family

Predictions. Both males and females will expect to marry young, and to have children. Both sexes will also expect that females will work outside the home. White males more often than white females will want females not to work outside the home. Although white males will consider the family to be important, they will expect their future wives to take primary responsibility for home and children. White females will want their future husbands to be the primary breadwinners, and to have the major decision-making authority in the family. White females will be more likely than white males to want and expect their future husbands to spend time at home helping with household work.

Black females will be more likely than white females to want to be employed. Black adolescents will be more likely than white adolescents to expect to share household and childcare responsibilities. The strongest emphasis on family will be placed by Mexican American adolescents. But even these adolescents will expect the females to have

to combine work and family. There will be no significant ethnic differences in expectations to share household responsibilities.

Findings. Adolescents in our sample did not expect to marry especially young. But most adolescents did want and expect to marry, and to have children. As predicted, very few male respondents wanted their wives to work always. Mexican American males were most likely of the three groups to want their wives to work always. No white male wanted his wife to work all the time. Females had different responses, and large proportions of them wanted to work for at least part of the time. Most females expected to work. Mexican American and black females were more likely to want and expect to work than were white females.

Most adolescents, regardless of race and gender, expected a traditional division of labor in their households when they grew up. When asked to imagine a typical Tuesday, all white adolescents, and an overwhelming proportion of black and Mexican American adolescents, described males as breadwinners and females as homemakers. Surprisingly, these attitudes did not follow gender lines. Among blacks and among Mexican Americans, males were more likely than females to report a nontraditional division of household labor. Still, some adolescents did see males helping with childcare responsibilities. Again, black and Mexican American males were more likely to expect to help with children; white females were more likely to expect help from spouses than white males were inclined to give.

A similar traditional division of labor was also seen by most adolescents on weekends. But many more males than females saw the males as helping with children over the weekend. The only exception was white males, none of whom reported seeing themselves as helping with childcare on weekends. The most egalitarian arrangements were expected by Mexican Americans, the least by whites.

In short, the adolescents wanted and expected to marry and have children. Both the males and the females expected fairly traditional relationships when they grew up. This was particularly true among white adolescents.

Maternal Employment

Predictions. This variable will be related to occupational aspirations and attitudes about combining work and family among females. White males whose mothers are employed will be more likely to expect their future wives to work, but will be no more likely to want them to. Maternal employment will be unrelated to the occupational plans of white males. This variable is also expected to be constant among blacks. Among blacks, maternal employment will provide a positive role model for sons, but a negative role model for daughters, particularly if the mothers hold low-status jobs. Maternal employment is expected to be least prevalent among Mexican Americans. Where mothers are employed, Mexican American boys will hold more favorable attitudes about women combining work and family. For all groups, maternal employment is expected to be related to less traditional sex-role attitudes.

Findings. Maternal employment was a much weaker predictor of the occupational aspirations and expectations of adolescents than was expected. Many of the respondents' mothers were employed. Maternal employment per se did not affect the future plans of adolescents. But maternal employment while the adolescent was growing up was relevant to some extent, and predicted the kinds of jobs the adolescents wanted. Fathers' attitudes about maternal employment also determined, to some extent, whether or not the adolescent expected to work in the future. No major race and gender differences were observed with respect to maternal employment, although mothers of white females were least likely to have worked, either previously or currently. Overall, maternal employment was more frequent among blacks than among whites and Mexican Americans.

Maternal employment was unrelated to sex-role attitudes, by and large, although positive attitudes about mother's working were correlated with less traditional sex-role attitudes.

Role Models and Significant Others

Predictions. White adolescents will tend to choose same-sex parent or relatives for role models and significant others. The life styles of the role models and significant others, and their perceived expectations of the adolescents, will predict adolescent future plans. For blacks, role models and significant others will come from the kinship network. This will be true for both males and females. Among Mexican Americans, role models and significant others will be chosen from the extended family, and will tend to be of the same sex. The attitudes of role models and significant others will be associated with the attitudes of adolescents. Perceived evaluations and expectations from role models and significant others will be associated with self-concept. Adolescents will report little input from role models and significant others with respect to vocational guidance and counseling.

Findings. Contrary to expectation, white adolescents were not any more likely to pick same-sex parents or relatives as role models than any other group. In fact, adolescents from all three race groups and from both gender groups were likely to pick their parents as role models and significant others. White and Mexican American females were more likely to report having role models than were whites and Mexican American males, but more black males than black females had role models. No major race difference was observable in terms of significant others, although black females were the least likely to have significant others.

The presence of role models and significant others had little impact on the future plans of male and female low-SES adolescents from the three ethnic groups. The only major relationship was between significant others' opinions about work and respondents' plans to work.

As expected role models and significant others were generally chosen from the kinship network. But there were no major gender differences or race differences in this respect. Significant others had some effect on the sex-role attitudes of adolescents; these effects were also not gender-specific.

Overall, differential expectations across race and gender groups regarding the effects of role models and significant others on adolescents' future plans were not borne out. These social-psychological variables were also weaker predictors of adolescents' future plans than was expected.

Sex-Role Attitudes

Predictions. Adolescent males will have more traditional attitudes than adolescent females. Black adolescents will have the least traditional attitudes, and Mexican Americans will have the most traditional attitudes. Sex-role attitudes will be related to occupational aspirations for white and Mexican American females. Sex-role attitudes will also be related to plans about combining work and family for white and Mexican American adolescents. For blacks, sex-role attitudes will be related primarily to the kinds of jobs chosen and the specific ways in which females are expected to combine work and family roles. Traditional sex-role attitudes will be associated with positive self-concepts among males, but with negative self-concepts among females.

Findings. The data show that adolescent males have more conservative sex-role attitudes than do adolescent females. As expected, black adolescents have the least traditional sex-role attitudes, and Mexican American adolescents the most traditional sex-role attitudes.

Sex-role attitudes were not related to occupational aspirations of white and Mexican American females. To the contrary, the only group for whom the two variables were related consistently was black females. Among black females, liberal sex-role attitudes were related to an expectation to work, and with the prestige of aspired and actual jobs.

Sex-role attitudes were only inconsistently related to plans for combining work and family. No gender and race differences were observable in this context.

Sex-role attitudes and self-concept were positively related to each other overall. The relationship was particularly strong among Mexican American males. In fact, the relationship tended to be stronger among males than among females. Although this prediction was confirmed, the counterpart prediction about females was not. The relationship between self-concept and sex-role attitudes was insignificant rather than negative among adolescent females.

Self-Concept

Predictions. Adolescent females will have less positive self-concepts than adolescent males, and this will be related to lower occupational aspirations. Blacks will have self-concepts similar to those of whites, although the self-concepts of Mexican Americans will be lower. Males with traditional sex-role attitudes will have positive self-concepts; the reverse will be true for females. Variations in self-concept will be low among blacks.

Findings. As expected, adolescent males generally had better

self-concepts than did adolescent females. The exception to this trend occurred with blacks, where female self-concepts were superior.

Self-concept scores were the highest among whites, followed by blacks and Mexican Americans.

Self-concept was related to sex-role attitudes among males but not among females.

The least variation in self-concept occurred among white females; Mexican American females had the greatest variance. Among males, blacks had the lowest, and Mexican Americans the greatest variation.

Summary

In many ways, the results of the present study run counter to expectation. But some predictable results were obtained, and some race and gender differences were observed.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

A major objective of this study was to fill certain gaps in the existing literature: gaps about the interaction of gender and SES in the prediction of the future life plans of adolescents, gaps about the predictors of the future plans of low-SES adolescents, gaps about the predictors of future plans across racial/ethnic groups, and gaps about males' and females' plans for interweaving family and career goals. Another objective was to provide descriptive information about the future plans of low-SES adolescents from three ethnic groups (white, black, and Mexican American), and about how background and social-psychological variables affect these plans.

In Chapter III, the future career and family plans of low-SES adolescents, and race/gender dynamics with respect to these plans, were described, and the predictive power of conceptual frameworks (developed among middle-class white adolescents) tested with respect to low-SES white, black, and Mexican American adolescents. In Chapter III, research-based predictions were also compared against the empirical results of the study. This provided us with an estimate of how good our conceptual framework is. But some general observations remain about the anomalies and surprises in the data, and it is these that are discussed below.

Future Plans

The results show that, as expected, occupational aspirations are higher than occupational expectations among low-SES adolescents. Overall, white adolescents have the smallest discrepancy between their occupational aspirations and expectations, and Mexican American adolescents have the largest discrepancy. These results are consistent with the findings of previous investigations (e.g., Kuvlesky et al., 1971; Manuel, 1965; Wright & Kuvlesky, 1968).

Despite this consistency in the overall results, the present study did discover an interesting race by gender interaction. Among males, white adolescents want the most prestigious jobs but expect the least prestigious ones; among females, however, the reverse holds true. Our small sample sizes preclude us from accepting these findings unequivocally. But we can speculate about the possible reasons why we obtained the results we did. It is possible that white males more than any other group are socialized into upward mobility norms (explaining their high aspirations), but realize their own shortcomings and constraints (explaining their low expectations). White females, on the other hand, may set their hopes realistically, providing the greatest consistency between aspirations and expectations (white females had the smallest discrepancy of any race/gender combination). That race and gender

interact in the prediction of adolescent occupational plans has sometimes been suggested in the past. But typically these studies have not focused exclusively on low-SES adolescents (Brief & Aldag, 1975; Thomas & Falk, 1978; Tittle, 1981). It appears from our results that this interaction may exist regardless of the social class of the individuals under investigation.

Most adolescents we interviewed had a reasonable picture of why they would not be able to obtain the jobs they wanted. Difficulty in acquiring the necessary skills was often mentioned in this context. When we remember that these are low-SES youth with limited resources, it is not at all surprising that the adolescents thought they could not go far occupationally.

A consistent pattern across variables was the traditional attitudes held by respondents. For instance, males tended to want and expect male-intensive jobs; females tended to want and expect female-intensive jobs. Both males and females also expected a fairly traditional division of household labor. The only major exception to this general trend occurred in terms of whether or not the adolescents expected females to work. Here, the majority of our sample had affirmative responses, probably from a recognition of financial necessity. In fact, when solutions to the three sex-role problem situations were examined, it was clear that money was the critical reason for upsetting the traditional sex-segregation of work (both at home and in terms of occupations). Surprisingly, males were more likely to expect to help their wives with housework than females were to expect help from their husbands. It is interesting to note in this context that Mexican Americans most often visualized an egalitarian division of household labor; whites reported such division of labor least often.

Overall, the future plans of adolescents in our sample were not unexpected. Most low-SES adolescents tended to want to work in skilled or white-collar jobs, although most had lower occupational expectations. Sex-typing was common for both occupational aspirations and expectations, and for both males and females. Most low-SES adolescents expected to work outside the home. Despite this expectation, the adolescents still expected a traditional family arrangement, where the female takes care of the family. What was unexpected was the pattern of some of the race/gender differences that emerged. But we need further work with larger samples of low-SES adolescents before we can accept completely the differences unearthed in our study.

Social-Psychological Variables

Among the most consistent findings in the study was the fact that social-psychological variables were, at best, weak predictors of adolescents' future plans. Maternal employment per se did not relate to future plans at all; attitudes about maternal employment were, however, moderately useful. Role models and significant others variables had only occasional relationships with future plans, and sex-role attitudes and self-concept were generally unrelated to future plans. Several possible explanations of these results come to mind.

It may be, of course, that conceptual frameworks developed among middle-class adolescents have little predictive utility for other socioeconomic classes. The future plans of low-SES adolescents may be determined by an entirely different set of variables than are the future plans of middle-SES adolescents. But an exploratory study such as the present one is precisely the place where alternative conceptual dynamics can be unearthed. Because we were unable to identify a host of other variables that may explain why low-SES adolescents have the plans they do, it is unlikely that this explanation is an accurate depiction of reality.

An alternative, more promising, explanation may lie in the fact that the variability was low on many concepts of interest. For instance, many mothers worked, respondents had few role models to choose from, parents were often their significant others, and so forth. But more important than the range of responses in our data is the range of options available to respondents from which to choose. It may be that most people the adolescents know work in the same type of occupation. Regardless of the relationship between a particular role model and the respondent, then (which is what our data would show variance on), jobs would be the same across role models, would be relatively constant, and would be incapable of manifesting predictive power as a result. To phrase it differently, if all potential role models have similar jobs, and the respondents tend to want the kinds of jobs that role models have, then who the respondent picks as a role models is irrelevant. The attitudes of these individuals may vary, but the future plans of the adolescent will be the same regardless.

The inconsistent effects of maternal employment on the future plans of low-SES adolescents were also somewhat puzzling. Respondents may have felt that their mothers had no choice but to work. Mothers' attitudes about working may have been considered irrelevant as a consequence. It is possible that respondents felt that their mothers really wanted to be housewives and were, at best, resigned to their employed status now. The need to work among mothers may have neutralized the positive effects of maternal employment among low-SES adolescents. It may also be that maternal employment is seen so much as a necessity and a norm among low-SES adolescents that it is taken for granted, but the attitudes of family members about maternal employment are considered relevant. It should be noted in this context that the attitudes of family members about the mother's working while the adolescent was growing up are more critical to future plans than are attitudes about current maternal employment. This suggests that however maternal employment may shape adolescents' future plans, the shaping occurs relatively early in the adolescents' lives.

Hoffman (1977) hypothesized that maternal employment would lead to the development of androgynous children. This hypothesis appears to be extremely class-bound based on our data. It may well be that, when mothers choose to work and are able to work at jobs that give them power (i.e., greater economic independence) in the family, they socialize their children in androgynous ways because they themselves have become androgynous. Men in such families must of necessity share in domestic responsibilities, and may also become androgynous in the process.

Certain emotional changes may ensue among males of middle-class dual-earner families as a result. But in families where there is no choice about the mother's working, or where her working does not alter her power in the family or the sex-stereotyped division of labor, it is but natural that androgynous attitudes do not prevail.

It is more difficult to understand why self-concept and sex-role attitudes were unrelated to adolescents' future plans. The problem may lie in the data collection strategy we used. Unlike the remainder of the interview, sex-role attitudes and self-concept were measured with structured instruments. Although these instruments have satisfactory psychometric properties among certain populations (middle-class adults, college students, etc.), their reliability and validity among low-SES adolescents are still open to question. Or, it may be that more detailed information about adolescents' opinions of themselves and about their sex-role attitudes is necessary before we can begin to decipher how these variables affect the future plans of low-SES adolescents. It may also be that self-concept and sex-role attitudes are relatively inconsequential predictors of low-SES adolescents' future plans. Regardless of the specific dynamics, it is clear that a more thorough investigation is necessary before we can even begin to speculate about how self-concept and sex-role attitudes affect the future plans of low-SES adolescents.

Race and Gender Effects

An unexpected finding of the present study was that Mexican American adolescents are not as traditional as folk lore would have us believe, and that black and white adolescents are more traditional than we would suspect. Another unexpected finding was that females were not necessarily less traditional than males; for many areas of their lives, males in fact surpassed females in willingness to explore different options and strategies for obtaining the most desired results.

We had expected Mexican American adolescents to place the greatest emphasis on the family. But the results show that this is not always the case. Mexican Americans did come from the largest families, but they did not always come from intact two-parent families. Mexican Americans were also not as likely to want or expect females to stay at home as we had predicted; they were less likely to do so than some of the other adolescents in our study.

The results of our study also show a consistent interaction between race and gender in the kinds of future plans that adolescents from low-SES backgrounds have. Males and females from the same ethnic group were often at opposite ends of the distributions of relevant variables. This suggests that boys and girls of each race are socialized differently. Some races (particularly whites) have diametrically oppcsed socialization patterns among low-SES males and females, whereas among other races, socialization patterns for the two sexes are closely tied.

Conclusions

The results of the study lead to several conclusions. They indicate that important differences exist in the future plans of adolescents from different racial/ethnic backgrounds or from different socioeconomic strata. The results also suggest that males and females are different in what their future plans are and how they are determined. Finally, the results indicate that conceptual frameworks developed among middle-class adolescents are not necessarily applicable to lower-class adolescents. Unfortunately, our data did not permit us to explore the relative effects of race versus SES on the future plans of adolescents.

Overall, the findings from the present study do not paint a very optimistic picture of the chances for upward mobility among these low-SES adolescents. They see no choice but to work; with few models for different occupational categories, however, low-SES adolescents seem to revert back to expecting the kinds of jobs held by parents and relatives. Major changes also do not appear imminent in terms of family lives. The norm is still for women to be homemakers and men to be breadwinners.

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERVENTION

The present study has several implications for the design of intervention strategies that decrease the extent of sex stereotyping in the future life plans of low-SES adolescents, and that increase the range of options adolescents can see being available to them.

When considering the suggestions for intervention, certain factors should be kept in mind. All respondents in our sample were still in school at the time of the study, but were close to completion. Clearly, job-related interventions must occur before the 12th grade. Many interventions must actually be ongoing throughout the educational process. These facts imply that interventions must start early in the socialization of children. Furthermore, many interventions must be individually tailored to the needs of specific target populations. An intervention suitable for a low-SES black adolescent may be quite inappropriate for someone from a white middle-class background.

Results of the present study suggest intervention strategies that are aimed at the career plans of adolescents, at the family plans of adolescents, and at their plans for combining career and family. These three types of intervention strategies are discussed below.

Interventions Aimed at Career Plans

At least five interventions aimed at career plans are suggested by our study.

Vocational Information

Many adolescents in our sample were not getting vocational/technical training, and most were relatively ill-informed about jobs they wanted or expected. This suggests that schools do not provide much vocational background, at least to low-SES adolescents. A greater emphasis on vocational information and education could do much to apprise adolescents of the range of job options available to them, and to familiarize them with what is entailed in each job option.

Role Models

It seems important for adolescents' future plans that they know people in a variety of jobs and occupations, so that they are aware of many job options, and do not artificially truncate the distribution of ideal or actual jobs for them. A fruitful approach for secondary schools to adopt may be to schedule field trips to a variety of local employers, and to arrange "rap sessions" between adolescents and people holding a broad selection of jobs. Familiarity with many jobs could do much to open doors to better futures for these adolescents.

Sex-Typing

Most males and females in our sample expected to work for pay outside the home, at least for some portion of their lives. But females wanted and expected female-intensive jobs, and males wanted and expected male-intensive jobs. If equal representation of the genders in a cross-section of jobs is ever to be achieved, adolescents must try to obtain jobs across gender-types. Vocational counselors must take care not to bias their counseling along traditional gender lines. Adolescents would probably also benefit from exposure to males holding traditionally female jobs (e.g., nurse, secretary) and females holding traditionally male jobs (e.g., truck driver, construction worker). Such exposure, encouraged by schools, could do much to break down gender barriers to occupational aspirations and expectations.

Occupational Prestige

The occupational aspirations of most adolescents were higher than were their occupational expectations. Ideal jobs typically had higher prestige ratings than did expected jobs. Although some respondents probably defined unrealistic occupational aspirations (e.g., professional football player, singer, etc.), most had aspirations that could reasonably be achieved (e.g., architect). Respondents often mentioned that they did not have the ability needed for these desired jobs, however. It is possible that some adolescents in fact lacked the necessary talents. But it is also likely that many others simply did not have the confidence and the determination that preparation for many professions require. Vocational and other school counselors may be well advised to devote effort to highlighting ways that adolescents can overcome the hurdles in obtaining their ideal jobs. It would probably also be fruitful to impress upon adolescents the value of upward mobility, and to encourage them to persist in seeking better jobs than those held by their parents and their friends' parents. If the discrepancies between occupational aspirations and expectations can be reduced for low-SES adolescents, we will be well on our way to equalizing employment opportunities.

Realistic Desires

Sometimes respondents in our sample did not want the jobs that adults around them had; rather, they wanted jobs held by celebrities such as Reggie Jackson. This was particularly true among black males, probably because few black male architects, doctors, lawyers, etc. are "visible." Visible black males with higher status tend to be athletes or in "show business." The barriers to these jobs are insurmountable for most adolescents, and particularly for low-SES adolescents. Career counseling must strike a delicate balance between widening occupational horizons on the one hand and ensuring realistic desires on the other. Only if low-SES adolescents set realistically high occupational goals can the vicious cycle of failure and lowered aspirations be broken.

Interventions Aimed at Family Plans

Two types of intervention strategies aimed at the family plans of low-SES adolescents are suggested by our study.

Division of Labor

Many of our respondents had a conventional view of their future family roles. Males and females both saw the latter assuming the major responsibility for the family and children. But most females also expected to work, and most males expected their wives to work. It seems that some reorganization of family attitudes is in order. Both males and females must be taught that household chores are a shared responsibility in which both partners participate. Schools should be careful to make homemaking and similar courses available to both males and females. Both attitude changes and practical guides about sharing household labor must be made available to both male and female low-SES adolescents.

Family Concerns

Adolescents, particularly male adolescents, often treated issues of marriage and children rather cavalierly. Accidental pregnancy was often mentioned as a reason for expecting to marry and/or to have children. The data suggest that marriage and family are decisions to which adolescents have not devoted too much time or thought. But these are important matters that determine in large measure the shape the adolescents' lives will take. For this reason, counseling on the responsibilities associated with having a spouse and family is probably quite critical. Counseling should also point to ways in which adolescents can learn to cope well with the responsibilities of having a family.

Interventions Aimed at Plans for Combining Career and Family

At least four intervention strategies aimed at plans for combining career and family arise from our results.

Discrepancy Across Genders

There were some discrepancies in our data between what males expected their wives to do (in terms of combining career and family) and what females thought their husbands would expect them to do. Congruence between the two expectations is desirable if future plans are to be made appropriately rather than on the basis of misconceptions. Joint counseling sessions that include participants from both sexes could be greatly instrumental in bringing about such congruence.

Realistic Planning

Many males, particularly Mexican American males, did not want their wives ever to work. But current economic realities dictate that most women (and particularly those from low-SES households) work for pay outside the home. It is essential that both males and females expect, understand, and accept this future, and plan for their subsequent lives in a rational fashion. Counselors and others involved in the development of adolescents must emphasize the benefits and advantages of dual-earner families, so that female employment is not viewed negatively by these adolescents.

Maternal Employment

Some respondents did not have positive attitudes about their mothers' working. In this, they were often like their fathers. These adolescents must be taught that, to the extent that females want or have to work, it is their prerogative to do so. The benefits of female employment should be emphasized, and the importance of valuing their mothers' (or wives') work reinforced.

Role Models

Realistically, many males and females from low-SES backgrounds will work during adulthood. But many do not have role models who have combined career and marriage successfully. Although mothers of our respondents were often employed, they were usually in low-skill, low-paying jobs, and could not serve as role models in combining family and career. Again, conversations and "rap sessions" with adults, particularly adult females, may provide some of the guidance that these adolescents need. Furthermore, training sessions that address attitudes about dual careers and provide tools to handle a dual-career lifestyle successfully could be quite useful. Through such efforts, females and males could learn better ways to manage the multiple roles that they themselves and their spouses must enact.

General Interventions

Many adolescents in our sample felt an external locus of control. They thought that events would get the better of them despite their aspirations. This showed in their career aspirations and expectations, in their family aspirations and expectations, and in their aspirations and expectations about combining career and family. A major intervention should focus on convincing these adolescents that they are actually in charge of their own lives. If they try hard, they can probably achieve what they want to. Because this training goes counter to years of experience and observation by the adolescents, it is probably particularly difficult to achieve. But by the same token, such an attitude change is essential if low-SES adolescents are to break out from the infinite loop of poverty and low aspirations and expectations.

A Final Word

Many implications for intervention emerge from the present study. Intervention strategies designed according to our suggestions, and reaching adolescents through schools, through summer programs, and even through parents, can do much to facilitate the ultimate achievement of educational and occupational equity for low-SES adolescents.

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Appendix A

THE INTERVIEW GUIDE

Southwest Educational Development Laboratory
211 East 7th Street, Austin, Texas 78701

512/476-6861

Name of Student _____

I have received $5.00 for participating in this study.

_____
Student's Signature

Interviewer Initials _____

Comments:

NOTE: The following interview guide was used in Year 3; changes from previous years are indicated by:

[2] = Added in Year 2.
[3] = Added in Year 3.
[4] = Modified in Year 2.
[5] = Modified in Year 3.

I. GETTING STARTED

I am interested in finding out what young (women/men) like you think about your future, that is what your plans are for later in life. So I will be asking you a lot of questions about your future. But first, I would like to find out some things about you and what you are doing now.

Estamos haciendo un estudio con (muchachas/muchachos) jovenes, así como Ud. Me interesa saber lo que ustedes piensan sobre sus futuros, es decir, que piensan hacer cuando sean adultos. Así es que le voy a hacer algunas preguntas sobre sus planes para el futuro. Pero, primero quisiera conocerle mejor y saber que está haciendo ahora.

1. Where do you go to high school?
   ¿Cómo se llama la escuela que está asistiendo?

2. What courses are you taking?
   ¿Cuáles son algunos de las clases que Ud. está estudiando?

3. Are you in any special program at school? (e.g., vocational education)
   ¿Está en algún programa especial como, por ejemplo, educación vocacional?
   no/yes → What kind? _____
   ¿Qué clase?

4. Do you work, too? no/yes → How many hours a week? _____
   ¿Trabaja tambien? ¿Cuántas horas por la semana?

5. What do you do for fun?
   ¿Qué hace Ud. para divertirse?

6. Have you ever worked before? no/yes → What jobs have you had?
   ¿Ha trabajado alguna vez antes? ¿Qué trabajos ha tenido?

Tell me something about your family:
Cuénteme algo de su familia:

7. With whom do you live?
   ¿Con quién o quiénes vive?

8. Do you have any brothers and sisters? no/yes → How many? ____
   ¿Tiene hermanos? ¿Cuántos?

9. What are their names? How old is _____?
   ¿Cómo se (llama/llaman)? ¿Cuántos años tiene _____?

NAME	AGE	NAME	AGE
_____	___	_____	___
_____	___	_____	___
_____	___	_____	___
_____	___	_____	___

10. How old are you? _____
¿Cuántos años tiene Ud?

11. How long have you lived in this city? _____
¿Cuánto tiempo tiene Ud. de vivir en esta ciudad?

[2]12. Do you have any responsibilities at home? no/yes → What are they?
¿Tiene Ud. algunas responsabilidades en casa? ¿Cuál o cuáles?

_____

_____

[3]13. Where were you born? Where were your parents born? And their parents?
¿Dónde nació Ud? ¿Dónde nacieron sus padres? ¿Y los padres de ellos?

_____ M _____ /F _____ GM _____ /GF _____
(RESPONDENT) (PARENTS) (GRANDPARENTS)

[3]14. Do you have relatives living here in Austin or near Austin? no
¿Tiene parientes que viven aquí en Austin o acerca de Austin? yes → (ASK Q15-16)

[3]15. Do you see them often? no/yes
¿Los ve seguido?

[3]16. Do you think of them as being like members of your immediate family? no
¿Considera Ud. que ellos son como miembros de su familia inmediata? yes →(ASK Q17)

[3]17. Tell me something about your relatives who are like members of your immediate family.
Cuéntene algo de sus parientes, los que son como miembros de su familia inmediata.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

I want to let you know before I ask any questions about your future, that I will be asking some questions that seem to be very much alike. But they are not the same. I sometimes want to know how you would like things to be if you could have whatever you wanted. These are questions about the dreams or hopes you have for your future. Other times I will ask you to tell me what you think will really happen in the future. So the difference is between what you want to happen and what you think will really happen. Sometimes what you want to happen and what you think will happen may be the same and sometimes they may not be the same.

For example, you might wish that you would win a million dollars, but don't really think this will happen. Or, you might wish that you could live in Houston instead of Austin and also think that you really will live in Houston someday.

Do you have any questions about the difference between the two kinds of questions I will be asking?

Quiero que sepa antes de hacerle preguntas de su futuro, que le voy a hacer algunas preguntas que son muy parecidas pero no son iguales. A veces lo que quiero saber es como le gustaría a Ud. que fuera su vida si pudiera tener todas las cosas que quisiera. Así es que, preguntas de este tipo van a ser de deseos ó fantasias que tiene Ud. para su futuro. Otras veces le voy a pedir que me diga que creé Ud. que va a suceder en su futuro. Así es que la diferencia es lo que Ud. desea que suceda, y lo que Ud. piensa que se va a realizar en realidad. Es posible que lo que Ud. desee es igual que lo que piensa que va a suceder.

Por ejemplo, quizás Ud. quisiera ganar un millon de dólares, pero en realidad no piensa que eso pasará. O quizás le gustaría vivir en Houston en lugar de Austin y esto si es algo que Ud. piensa que puede pasar en realidad.

¿Tiene alguna pregunta tocante a la diferencia entre los dos tipos de preguntas?

Reasons for marriage:

independence--to get away from home
security--to be taken care of
everyone gets married
have someone in mind to marry
to have someone to be with
not to have to work
to have children
being in love

Reasons against marriage:

lack of independence--being tied down
having to stop having fun
doesn't want the responsibilities
wants a career
wants to move around
doesn't like children
has a poor image of marriage and married people

Items used in Year 1 only:

If they say no, try to determine if they plan to live alone.
If not, find out who they plan to live with and under what circumstances.

II. MARRIAGE

1. If you could do anything you wanted, would you get married? yes
¿Si pudiera hacer lo que quisiera, se casaría? no

2. Do you think you will actually get married? yes
¿Piensa que se va a casar en realidad? no

3. At what age would you like to marry? _____
¿A cuál edad le gustaría a Ud. casarse?

4. How old do you think you will be when you get married? _____
¿A cuál edad piensa que se va a casar?

5. Why (do/don't) you want to get married?
¿Porqué (quiere/no quiere) casarse?

_____

_____

_____

PROBES USED ☐

6. Why (do/don't) you expect to get married?
¿Porqué (piensa/no piensa) que se va a casar?

_____

_____

_____

PROBES USED ☐

IF RESPONDENT INDICATES DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MARRIAGE ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS AT Q.1 AND Q.2 → ASK Q.7, USING APPROPRIATE ALTERNATE WORDING.

7. You said that you (wanted/did not want) to marry, but you (don't think/think) you will marry. Why (do/don't) you want to marry, but (don't think/think) you will marry?

Me dijo que (quiere/no quiere) casarse, pero (no piensa/piensa) que se casará. ¿Porqué (quiere/no quiere) casarse, pero (no piensa/piensa) que se casará?

PROBES USED ☐

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Reasons for having children:

everyone has children
likes children
would be fun to have children
to be loved and needed by someone
[3]to continue the family
[3]one is supposed to have children

Reasons against having children:

they are too expensive
they are too much trouble
they are too much responsibility
has unhappy memory of own childhood
[2]troubled world situation

Items used in Year 1 only:

People say there are both some good things and some bad things about having kids. What would you say are the good things? the bad things?

III. CHILDREN

1. Do you want to have children? no/yes → How many? _____
¿Quisiera tener niños? ¿Cuántos?

2. Do you think you will have children? no/yes → How many? _____
¿Piensa que va a tener niños? ¿Cuántos?

3. Why (do/don't) you want to have children?
¿Porqué (quiere/no quiere) tener niños?

_____

_____

_____

PROBES USED ☐

4. Why (do/don't) you think you will have children?
¿Porqué (piensa/no piensa) que va a tener niños?

_____

_____

_____

PROBES USED ☐

IF RESPONDENT INDICATES A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS AT Q.1 AND Q.2 → ASK Q.5, USING APPROPRIATE ALTERNATE WORDING.

5. You said you (wanted/did not want) to have children, but you (don't think/think) you will have children. Why (do/don't) you want to have children, but (don't think/think) you will have children?

Me dijo que (quiere/no quiere) tener niños, pero (no piensa/piensa que tendrá niños. ¿Porqué (quiere/no quiere) tener niños, pero (no piensa/piensa) que los tendrá?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

PROBES USED ☐

Job aspiration and expectation discrepancy:

can't get the necessary education
lack of skill or talent required
jobs are hard to acquire
[2]sex discrimination
[5]racial discrimination
training is hard to acquire

Items used in Year 1 only:

What jobs have you thought about having?
What made you decide you did not want that job?
When did you first want to be a (aspire) ? a (expect) ?
When did you first decide you would really work as a (expect) ?

IV. OCCUPATIONAL PLANS

Now I would like to ask you some questions about working.
Ahora quiero hacerle algunas preguntas tocantes al trabajo.

51. If you could have whatever you wanted after you finished your education, would you work at a job? yes / no
¿Si pudiera hacer lo que quisiera después de terminar su educación, trabajaría?

(Why?/Why not?)
(Porqué?/Porqué no?)

_____

_____

_____

_____

52. What do you think you will really do after you finish your education; will you work at a job? yes / no
¿Qué piensa que va a hacer después de terminar su educación; va a trabajar?
(Why?/Why not?)
(Porqué?/Porqué no?)

_____

_____

_____

_____

IF RESPONDENT INDICATES A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS AT Q.1 and Q.2 → ASK Q.3, USING APPROPRIATE ALTERNATE WORDING.

53. You said you (want/don't want) to work after you finish your education, but you (don't think/think) you will work. Why?
Dice que (quiere/no quiere) trabajar después de terminar su educación, pero (no piensa/piensa) que va a trabajar. ¿Porqué?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Let's say you plan to work after you finish your education.
Digamos que piensa trabajar después de terminar su educación.

1. If you could have any job you wanted, what would you do?
   ¿Si pudiera tener cualquier trabajo que quisiera, cuál trabajo le gustaría tener?

   _____

   _____

2. What job do you think you will really have?
   ¿Cuál trabajo piensa que va a tener en realidad?

   _____

   _____

ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE JOB THE RESPONDENT ASPIRES TO IN Q.1

You said that if you could have whatever job you wanted, you would want (to be/to do) (ASPIRE).

Dijo que si pudiera tener cualquier trabajo, le gustaría (ser/hacer) (ASPIRE).

3. How do you know about this job?
   ¿Cómo aprendio de como es ese trabajo?

4. What would you do on this job?
   ¿Qué haría en ese trabajo?

5. What do you think you would like best about this job?
   ¿Qué piensa Ud. que le gustaría más de ese trabajo?

6. What do you think you would like least about this job?
   ¿Qué piensa Ud. que le gustaría menos de ese trabajo?

7. How would you get the job?
   ¿Cómo conseguirá Ud. el trabajo?

8. Do you need any special training? Are you receiving any training now? Do you plan to get it in the future? When?
   ¿Necesita alguna forma de preparación especial? ¿Está recibiendo alguna forma de entrenamiento ahora? ¿Piensa recibirlo en el futuro? ¿Cuándo?

   _____

   _____

9. Do you know anyone who has this job? no/yes → Who? _____
   ¿Conoce a alguien que hace ese trabajo? ¿Quién?

ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ABOUT THE JOB THE RESPONDENT EXPECTS TO HAVE IN Q.2
IF ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS ARE THE SAME, THEN SKIP TO NEXT SECTION.

You said that you think you will work as (EXPECT).
Dijo que piensa que trabajar como (EXPECT).

10. How do you know about this job?
¿Cómo aprendio de como es ese trabajo?

11. What would you do on this job?
¿Qué haría en ese trabajo?

12. What do you think you would like best about this job?
¿Qué piensa que le gustaría más de ese trabajo?

13. What do you think you would like least about this job?
¿Qué piensa que le gustaría menos de ese trabajo?

14. How will you get this job?
¿Cómo conseguirá ese trabajo?

15. Do you need any special training? Are you receiving any training now? Do you plan to get it in the future? When?
¿Necesita alguna forma de preparación especial? ¿Está recibiendo alguna forma de entrenamiento ahora? ¿Piensa recibirlo en el futuro? ¿Cuándo?

16. Do you know anyone who has this job? no/yes → Who? _____
¿Conoce a alguien que hace ese trabajo? ¿Quién?

IF RESPONDENT INDICATES A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS AT Q.1 AND Q.2 → ASK Q.17.

17. You said that you would like to work as (ASPIRE), but that you think you will actually work as (EXPECT). Why don't you think you will work as (ASPIRE)?
Dijo que le gustaría trabajar como (ASPIRE), peron piensa que trabajará como (EXPECT). ¿Porqué no piensa que trabajará como (ASPIRE)?

PROBES USED ☐

Combining work and family:

always work and combine marriage and children
work until marry, stop to have children, return
    after children enter school
    after children leave home
work until first child, then never again
work until marriage, then never again
[2]never work

IF RESPONDENT FEMALE ASK 10a

V. COMBINING MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Now I want to know some things about how you would like to have your family life and your work fit together.
Ahora quiero saber como piensa Ud. formar su vida familial y su trabajo fuera de casa.

1. If you could have whatever you wanted, would you ever work away from home?
¿Si pudiera tener lo que quisiera, estuviera empleada fuera de la casa?

no/yes → (ASK Q.2)

2. When would you work? _____
¿Cuándo trabajaría?

3. What do you think you really will do?
¿Qué piensa que va a hacer en realidad?

_____

_____

4. What do you think your husband will want you to do?
¿Qué piensa que le gustaría a su esposo que hiciera Ud?

_____

_____

5. If what you want is different from what your husband wants, how will you work it out?
¿Si él no quiere lo que quiere Ud., como piensa que resolverán la diferencia?

_____

_____

IF RESPONDENT INDICATES A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS AT Q1. AND Q.3 → ASK Q.6, USE APPROPRIATE ALTERNATE WORDING.

6. You said you (wanted/didn't want) to work away from home, but you (don't think/think) you will work. Why do you feel this way?
Me dijo que Ud. (quiere/no quiere) trabajar fuera de la casa, pero (no piensa/piensa) que Ud. va a trabajar en realidad. ¿Porqué cree Ud. esto?

_____

_____

_____

PROBES USED ☐

Combining work and family:

always work and combine marriage and children
work until marry, stop to have children, return
    after children enter school
    after children leave home
work until first child, then never again
work until marriage, then never again
never work

IF RESPONDENT MALE ASK 10b

V. COMBINING MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Now I want to know some things about how you would like to have your family life and your work fit together.
Ahora quiero saber como piensa Ud. formar su vida familial y su trabajo fuera de casa.

1. If you could have whatever you wanted, would you ever have your wife work away from home?
¿Si pudiera tener lo que quisiera, quisiera que su esposa estuviera empleada fuera de la casa?
yes → (ASK Q.2)
no

2. When would she work?
¿Cuándo trabajaría ella? _____

3. What do you think she will really do, work? no/yes → When?
¿Qué piensa que hará ella, trabajará? ¿Cuándo?

_____ _____

_____

_____

4. What do you think she will want you to do?
¿Qué piensa que quisiera ella que hiciera Ud?

_____

_____

_____

IF RESPONDENT INDICATES A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SPOUSE'S EMPLOYMENT ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS AT Q.1 AND Q.3 → ASK Q.5, USE APPROPRIATE ALTERNATE WORDING.

5. You said you (wanted/did not want) your wife to work, but you (don't think/think) she will work. Why do you feel that way?
¿Me dijo que (quiere/no quiere) que su esposa trabaje, pero (no piensa/piensa) que ella va a trabajar. ¿Porqué cree Ud. esto?

_____

_____

_____

_____

PROBES USED ☐

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IN THE FOLLOWING SECTION: SELECT ADULT AGE APPROPRIATE TO RESPONDENT'S EDUCATIONAL PLANS, E.G., IF HIGH SCHOOL ONLY → USE 25 YEARS OF AGE.

VI. IMAGINARY SITUATION

Now imagine that you are (ADULT AGE). I'd like to know what you think you'll be doing then. Tell me what you think a typical Tuesday will be like. I'm especially interested in what you'll be doing at work and with your family.

Ahora imagínese que tiene _____ años. Quiero saber que piensa que va a estar haciendo entonces. Dígame como se imagina que será un Martes típico. Me interesa saber lo que se imagina que va a estar haciendo en el trabajo y con su familia.

_____

_____

_____

_____

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ASKED AS APPROPRIATE TO COVER INFORMATION NOT INCLUDED IN RESPONDENT'S ANSWER ABOVE.

1. How many hours would you be at work away from home? _____
   ¿Cuántas horas estaría en su trabajo fuera de la casa?

2. How many hours would you be at home? _____
   ¿Cuántas horas estaría en casa?

3. How many hours would you be with your (husband/wife)? _____
   ¿Cuántas horas estaría con su (esposo/esposa)?
   Children? _____ Friends? _____ Relatives? _____
   ¿Niños? ¿Amistades? ¿Parientes?

4. What will be your main family duties?
   ¿Cuáles serán las responsabilidades mayores de Ud. en su familia?

   _____

   _____

   _____

5. What will you be responsible for in your family?
   ¿De las responsabilidades de familia, cuáles estarían bajo su propia responsabilidad?

   _____

   _____

   _____

6. What will be your (husband's/wife's) duties to the family?
   ¿Cuáles serán las responsabilidades mayores de su (esposo/esposa)?

   _____

   _____

7. Who will have the major responsibility for the children? RESPONDENT/SPOUSE
¿Quién tendrá la responsabilidad mayor de cuidar a los niños?

8. What will this involve?
¿De qué consiste el cuidar a los niños?

_____

_____

_____

Now tell me about a typical weekend.
Ahora, dígame como se imagina que será un fin de semana típico.

_____

_____

_____

_____

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ASKED AS APPROPRIATE TO COVER INFORMATION NOT INCLUDED IN RESPONDENT'S ANSWER ABOVE

9. How many hours would you be at work away from home? _____
¿Cuántas horas estaría en su trabajo fuera de la casa?

10. How many hours would you be at home? _____
¿Cuántas horas estaría en casa?

11. How many hours would you be with your (husband/wife)? _____
¿Cuántas horas estaría con su (esposo/esposa)?
Children?_____ Friends?_____ Relatives?_____
¿Niños? ¿Amistades? ¿Parientes?

12. What will be your main family duties?
¿Cuáles serán las responsabilidades mayores de Ud. en la familia?

_____

_____

13. What will you be responsible for in your family?
¿De las responsabilidades de familia, cuáles estarían bajo su propia responsabilidad?

_____

_____

14. What will be your (husband's/wife's) duties to the family?
¿Cuáles serán las responsabilidades mayores de su (esposo/esposa)?

_____

_____

15. Who will have the major responsibility for the children? RESPONDENT/SPOUSE
¿Quién tendrá la responsabilidad mayor de cuidar a los niños?

16. What will this involve?
¿De qué consiste el cuidar a los niños?

_____

_____

_____

Note: In Year 3 Spanish surnames were used in the problem situations so that Mexican American respondents would not think of the problems as applicable only to members of other ethnic groups:

Ruiz = Smith
Gonzales = Jones
Ortiz = Anderson

VII. PROBLEMS

Now I'd like to describe some family situations and I'd like to know what you think the people in them should do.

Ahora le voy a describir la situación de tres familias y quiero saber que piensa Ud. que deben hacer las personas en cada situación.

1. Mr. and Mrs. Ruiz are married and have two children, aged three and five. Mr. Ruiz has been offered a job that pays more money; but if he takes the job he would have to work nights and different shifts. Mrs. Ruiz does not want him to take it because she doesn't believe he would have enough time to be with the children. What should he do?

   El Sr. y la Sra. Ruiz son casados y tienen dos niños, de tres y cinco años de edad. El Sr. Ruiz ha recibido una oferta de empleo. Con este trabajo nuevo él podría ganar más dinero pero necesitaría trabajar en la noche y sin un horario regular. La Sra. Ruiz no quiere que su esposo acepte la oferta porque ella no cree que él tendría bastante tiempo para estar con los niños. ¿Qué debe hacer él?

   TAKE JOB
   NOT TAKE JOB
   _____ OTHER (SPECIFY)

   _____

   Why?
   ¿Porque? _____

   _____

2. Mr. and Mrs. Gonzales are married and have two children, aged six and eight. Mrs. Gonzales has been offered a job and wants to take it because she wants to buy a new stove. Mr. Gonzales does not want her to take the job. What should she do?

   El Sr. y la Sra. Gonzales son casados y tienen dos niños de seis y ocho años de edad. La Sra. Gonzales ha recibido una oferta de empleo y ella quiere aceptarla porque quiere comprarse una estufa nueva. Su esposo no quiere que la acepte ella. ¿Qué debe hacer ella?

   TAKE JOB
   NOT TAKE JOB
   _____ OTHER (SPECIFY)

   _____

   Why?
   ¿Porqué? _____

   _____

   Is Mr. Gonzales right not to want her to take the job? yes
   ¿Tiene razón el señor en no querer que su esposa trabaje? no

   Why?
   ¿Porqué? _____

   _____

3. Mr. and Mrs. Ortiz have a very ill child who needs someone at home almost all of the time. Someone will have to stay home with the child. Who should stay?

El Sr. y la Sra. Ortiz tienen un niño que está muy enfermo. Alguien necesita estar en casa con el niño casi todo el tiempo. ¿Quién debe quedarse para cuidar al niño?

_____ HE STAYS
_____ SHE STAYS
_____ OTHER (SPECIFY)

[2] Why?
¿Porqué? _____

What should they do if she could get a job that paid $15,000 a year and he was only paid $9,000 a year on his job?

¿Qué deben hacer si la Sra. Ortiz pudiera trabajar y ganar $15,000 al año y el Sr. Ortiz ganaría nada más $9,000 al año?

_____ HE STAYS
_____ SHE STAYS
_____ OTHER (SPECIFY)

[2] Why?
¿Porqué? _____

Now I want to ask you some questions about the people in your life who are important to you.

Ahora voy a hacerle algunas preguntas tocantes a las personas que son importantes para Ud.

1. Is there anyone you would like to be like? no/yes → Who? _____
¿Hay alguien a quien a Ud. le gustaría parecerse? ¿Quien?

IF YES AT Q.1, ASK:

What is it about this person that makes you want to be like them?
¿Qué es de esta persona que a Ud. le gustaría parecerse?

_____

_____

IF ANSWER AT Q.1 DOES NOT INCLUDE REFERENCE TO BOTH JOB AND FAMILY LIFE, THEN ASK Q.2.

2. Is there anyone you think has both the kind of job and the kind of family life you would like to have?
¿Hay alguien que tiene el tipo de trabajo y también el tipo de vida en su familia que a Ud. le gustaría tener?

no/yes → Who? _____
¿Quién?

IF YES AT Q.2, ASK:

What is it about (his/her) life that you would like to have in your life?
¿Qué es lo que tiene (él/ella) en su vida que le gustaría a Ud. tener en su vida en el futuro?

_____

_____

3. Is there anyone who has a job like the one you want?
¿Hay alguien que tiene el trabajo que a Ud. le gustaría tener?

no/yes → Who? _____
¿Quién?

IF YES AT Q.3, ASK:

What do they do? _____
¿Qué hace?

IF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS DIFFER, ASK:

4. Is there anyone who has a job like the one you expect to have?
¿Hay alguien que tiene el trabajo que piensa tener Ud?

no, yes → Who? _____
¿Quién?

IF YES AT Q.4, ASK:

What do they do? _____
¿Qué hace?

5. Whose opinion of you do you value the most? That is, who is the person whose opinion of you matters the most to you?
¿Quién quiere Ud. que tenga buena opinión de Ud? O sea, cuál es la persona quien quiere Ud. que tenga la mejor opinión de Ud?

_____ (RELATIONSHIP)

Why?
¿Porqué? _____

_____

6. What does this person think of you?
¿Qué piensa esta persona de Ud?

_____

_____

7. Does (he/she) think you should have a job? no/yes → (ASK Q.8)
¿Piensa (él/ella) que Ud. debe trabajar?

8. What kind of job does (he/she) think you should have?
¿Qué tipo de trabajo piensa (él/ella) que debe tener Ud?

_____

9. What kind of family life does this person think you should have?
¿Qué tipo de vida familiar piensa (el/ella) que debe tener Ud?

_____

10. Does (he/she) think that work or family should be more important to you in the future?
¿Piensa (el/ella) que su trabajo o su familia debe tener la más importancia para Ud. en el futuro?

_____

11. What does (he/she) think about married women having jobs?
¿Qué piensa (el/ella) de mujeres casadas que trabajan?

_____

Women with small children having jobs?
¿Mujeres con niños pequeños que trabajan?

_____

[2] Husbands staying home while their wives work?
¿Hombres que se quedan en casa cuando sus esposas trabajan?

_____

IX. MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT

Now I'd like to ask some questions about your parents.
Ahora quiero hacerle una preguntas tocantes a sus padres.

1. Did your mother have a job when you were growing up?
   ¿Trabajaba su mamá cuando Ud. era (chico/chica)?

   no/yes → What kind of job did she have? _____
   ¿Qué tipo de trabajo tenía ella?

   How many hours a day did she work? — FULL TIME / PART TIME / OTHER (SPECIFY)_____
   ¿Cuántas horas al día trabajaba?

IF NO AT Q.1, ASK:

   Why didn't your mother work? _____
   ¿Porqué no trabajaba ella?

2. Does your mother work now? no/yes → (CONTINUE)
   ¿Trabaja su mamá ahora?

   What kind of job does she have now? _____
   ¿Qué tipo de trabajo tiene ahora?

   How many hours a day does she work? — FULL TIME / PART TIME / OTHER(SPECIFY)_____
   ¿Cuántas horas al día trabaja?

IF YES AT Q.1, ASK:

3. Why did your mother work? _____
   ¿Porqué trabajaba su mamá?

IF YES AT Q.2, ASK:

4. Why does your mother work (now)? _____
   ¿Porqué trabaja su mamá (ahora)?

IF YES AT Q.1, ASK:

5. Did you mother like to work? — YES / NO
   ¿Le gustaba trabajar su mamá?

IF YES AT Q.2, ASK:

6. Does your mother like to work (now)? — YES / NO
   ¿Le gusta a ella trabajar (ahora)?

IF YES AT Q.1, ASK:

7. What did your father think about your mother working?
¿Qué pensaba su papá de que su mamá trabajara?

IF YES AT Q.2, ASK:

8. What does your father think (now) about your mother working?
¿Qué piensa su papá (ahora) de que su mamá trabaje?

IF YES AT Q.1, ASK:

9. What did you think about your mother working?
¿Qué piensa Ud. de que su mamá trabajaba?

IF YES AT Q.2, ASK:

10. What do you think about your mother working (now)?
¿Qué piensa Ud. de que su mamá trabaja (ahora)?

IF YES AT Q.1, ASK:

11. Did your mother want to work? YES
¿Quisó trabajar su mamá? NO

IF YES AT Q.2, ASK:

12. Does your mother want to work (now)? YES
¿Quiere trabajar su mamá (ahora)? NO

ASK EVERYONE:

13. Do you think your mother would rather be a housewife and not work? YES
¿Piensa Ud. que su mamá prefería ser ama de casa y no trabajar? NO

14. Do your friends' mothers work? YES
¿Trabajan las madres de las amistades suyas? NO

X. PATERNAL EMPLOYMENT

1. Did your father work when you were growing up? no/yes → (CONTINUE)
¿Trabajaba su papá cuando era (chico/chica)?

What kind of job did he have? _____
¿Qué tipo de trabajo tenía?

How many hours a day did he work?
¿Cuántas horas al día trabajaba?

FULL TIME
PART TIME
OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

IF NO AT Q.1, ASK:

Why didn't your father work? _____
¿Porqué no trabajaba?

2. Does your father work now? no/yes → (CONTINUE)
¿Trabaja su papá ahora?

What kind of job does he have now? _____
¿Qué tipo de trabajo tiene ahora?

How many hours a day does he work?

FULL TIME
PART TIME
OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

IF NO AT Q.2, ASK:

Why doesn't your father work? _____
¿Porqué no trabaja su papá?

IF YES AT Q.1, ASK:

3. What did your mother think about your father's job when you were little?
¿Qué pensaba su mamá del trabajo de él cuando era (chico/chica)?

_____

IF YES AT Q.2, ASK:

4. What does your mother think about your father's job now?
¿Qué piensa su mamá del trabajo de él ahora?

_____

IF YES AT Q.1, ASK:

5. What did you think about your father's job when you were little?
¿Qué pensaba Ud. del trabajo de su papá cuando Ud. era (chico/chica)?

_____

IF YES AT Q.2, ASK:

6. What do you think about your father's job now?
¿Qué piensa Ud. del trabajo de su papá ahora?

_____

XI. AWSCALE

[3] Now I'd like to know to what degree you agree or disagree with certain beliefs. I am going to read you some statements; and for each statement I read, please tell me whether you strongly agree, mildly agree, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree.

HAND CARD WITH RESPONSE OPTIONS TO RESPONDENT.

This card has the answers I need you to use.

Remember, there are no right or wrong answers. I'm only interested in your opinions.

ASK FOLLOWING EXAMPLE TO BE SURE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS INSTRUCTIONS:

For example, I might read the statement: All boys and girls should learn to sew. Which of those answers comes the closest to your opinion about the statement, All boys and girls should learn to sew?

Ahora quiero saber hasta que punto está Ud. de acuerdo con ciertas creencias. Se las voy a leer, y por cada frase que le lea, necesito que me diga hasta que grado está de acuerdo con las respuestas: estoy muy de acuerdo, estoy poco de acuerdo, no estoy muy de acuerdo, y definativamente no estoy de acuerdo.

HAND CARD WITH SPANISH RESPONSE OPTIONS TO RESPONDENT.

Esta carta tiene las respuestas.

Tome en cuenta que no hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas, solamente me interesan sus opiniones.

ASK FOLLOWING EXAMPLE TO BE SURE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS INSTRUCTIONS:

Por ejemplo, si le pediera su opinion sobre la creencia: Todos los muchachos y muchachas deben aprender a coser, ¿Cúal de esas respuestas está más próxima a su opinón?

	STRONGLY AGREE	MILDLY AGREE	MILDLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. It's perfectly okay for a man to sew up holes in socks and for a woman to drive a locomotive train. Está perfectemente bien que un hombre repare los hoyos en sus calcetines y que una mujer maneje un tren locomotor.	4	3	2	1
2. Women should be allowed to do more to help solve our world problems. Las mujeres deben ser permitidas hacer más para resolver nuestros problemas del mundo.	4	3	2	1
3. A woman should be able to ask a man to marry her if she wants to. Se le debe permitir a la mujer hacer una oferta de matrimonio a un hombre si ella quiere hacersela.	4	3	2	1
4. A man should usually pay for the woman if they do something together. Generalmente, un hombre debe pagar la cuenta y cualquier otro costo cuando sale con una mujer.	1	2	3	4
5. It is more important for a man to go to college than for a woman. Es más importante para un hombre estudiar en una universidad que para una mujer.	1	2	3	4
6. It's worse for a woman to get drunk than for a man. Es peor para una mujer emborracharse que para un hombre.	1	2	3	4
7. In general, fathers should have more to say in bringing up children than mothers. En general, el padre de familia debe tener más decir sobre la crianza de los niños que la madre de familia.	1	2	3	4
8. Women <u>don't</u> need jobs that are as good as men's jobs. Las mujeres no necesitan trabajos tan buenos como los hombres.	1	2	3	4
9. A woman should be able to go the same places and have as much freedom as a man. La mujer debe ser permitida ir a los mismos lugares y tener tanta libertad como el hombre.	4	3	2	1

	STRONGLY AGREE	MILDLY AGREE	MILDLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
10. Fathers should share the housework with mothers. Los padres de familia deben tener parte en el cuidado de la casa igualmente como las madres de familia.	4	3	2	1
11. Having children and keeping house is more important for a woman than having a job. Tener niños y cuidar de la casa es más importante para una mujer que tener un trabajo.	1	2	3	4
12. Using bad words is worse for a woman than it is for a man. Es peor que la mujer use groserías a que las use el hombre.	1	2	3	4

XII. SCSCALE

[3]Now I am going to read to you some statements about how you feel about yourself. As before, I need for you to use the same answers: strongly agree, mildly agree, mildly disagree, or strongly disagree.

ASK THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLE TO BE SURE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS INSTRUCTIONS.

For example, I might ask: I am very tall. Which of those answers comes closest to your opinion about yourself when I read the statement, I am very tall?

Ahora, voy a leerle algunas frases tocantes a como se siente de sí (mismo/misma). Como antes, necesito que use las mismas respuestas: estoy muy de acuerdo, estoy poco de acuerdo, no estoy muy de acuerdo, y definativamente no estoy de acuerdo.

ASK THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLE TO BE SURE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS INSTRUCTIONS.

Por ejemplo, si le pediera su opinión sobre la frase: Yo soy muy (alto/alta), ¿Cuál de esas respuestas está más próxima de su opinion de si (mismo/misma)?

	STRONGLY AGREE	MILDLY AGREE	MILDLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
*1. I feel that I am an important person and just as important as other people. Yo creo que yo soy una persona importante y que yo soy tan importante como otras personas.	4	3	2	1
*2. I think there are lots of good things about me. Pienso que yo tengo muchas cosas buenas tocantes a mí (mismo/misma).	4	3	2	1
*3. All in all, I feel good about myself. En total, me siento bien cerca de mí (mismo/misma).	4	3	2	1
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people. Pueco hacer las cosas tan bien como otras personas.	4	3	2	1
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of. No creo que tengo mucho de que puedo estar (orgulloso/orgullosa).	1	2	3	4
*6. All in all, I am satisfied with myself. En total, estoy (satisfecho/satisfecha) con mí (mismo/misma).	4	3	2	1
7. I wish I could have more respect for myself. Quisiera tener más respeto para mí (mismo/misma).	1	2	3	4
8. At times I think I am no good at all. A veces pienso que yo no tengo valor alguno.	1	2	3	4
9. I certainly feel useless at times. Me siento inútil a veces.	1	2	3	4

	STRONGLY AGREE	MILDLY AGREE	MILDLY DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
*1. I feel that I am an important person and just as important as other people. Yo creo que yo soy una persona importante y que yo soy tan importante como otras personas.	4	3	2	1
*2. I think there are lots of good things about me. Pienso que yo tengo muchas cosas buenas tocantes a mí (mismo/misma).	4	3	2	1
*3. All in all, I feel good about myself. En total, me siento bien cerca de mí (mismo/misma).	4	3	2	1
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people. Puedo hacer las cosas tan bien como otras personas.	4	3	2	1
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of. No creo que tengo mucho de que puedo estar (orgulloso/orgullosa).	1	2	3	4
*6. All in all, I am satisfied with myself. En total, estoy (satisfecho/satisfecha) con mí (mismo/misma).	4	3	2	1
7. I wish I could have more respect for myself. Quisiera tener más respeto para mí (mismo/misma).	1	2	3	4
8. At times I think I am no good at all. A veces pienso que yo no tengo valor alguno.	1	2	3	4
9. I certainly feel useless at times. Me siento inútil a veces.	1	2	3	4

Appendix B

THE CODING SCHEME

CODEBOOK

VARIABLE	VARIABLE NAME	MISSING DATA CODE
V1	RESPONDENT ID NUMBER	NONE
V2	CARD NUMBER	NONE
V3	GENDER OF RESPONDENT	NONE
	1. Male 2. Female	
V4	NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILY	99
V5	NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT HOME	99
V6	RESPONDENT'S PLACE IN BIRTH ORDER	99
V7	PARENTAL COMPOSITION	9
	1. Mother-Father 2. Mother-Stepfather 3. Father-Stepmother 4. Mother only 5. Father only 6. Other relatives	
V8	TYPE[S] OF RESPONSIBILITY AT HOME	9
	0. None 1. Money 2. Childcare 3. Housework 4. Money-childcare 5. Money-housework 6. Childcare-housework 7. All	
V9	TYPE OF SPECIAL EDUCATION	9
	0. No special education 1. Remedial 2. Vocational 3. College preparatory	
V10	MARRIAGE ASPIRATION	9
	1. Yes 2. No	
V11	MARRIAGE EXPECTATION	9

1. Yes
2. No

V12 MARRIAGE AGE-ASPIRATION 99

V13 MARRIAGE AGE-EXPECTATION 99

V14 REASON-1 FOR MARRIAGE ASPIRATION 99

01. Independence
02. Security
03. Everyone does
04. Engaged
05. Children
06. Have caretaker
07. Ready to marry
08. Companionship
09. No independence
10. No fun
11. Responsibility
12. No mobility
13. Career conflict
14. Poor impression
15. Accidental pregnancy

V15 REASON-2 FOR MARRIAGE ASPIRATION 99

01. Independence
02. Security
03. Everyone does
04. Engaged
05. Children
06. Have caretaker
07. Ready to marry
08. Companionship
09. No independence
10. No fun
11. Responsibility
12. No mobility
13. Career conflict
14. Poor impression
15. Accidental pregnancy

V16 REASON-3 FOR MARRIAGE ASPIRATION 99

01. Independence
02. Security
03. Everyone does
04. Engaged
05. Children
06. Have caretaker
07. Ready to marry
08. Companionship
09. No independence

10. No fun
11. Responsibility
12. No mobility
13. Career conflict
14. Poor impression
15. Accidental pregnancy

V17 REASON-1 FOR MARRIAGE EXPECTATION 99

01. Independence
02. Security
03. Everyone does
04. Engaged
05. Children
06. Have caretaker
07. Ready to marry
08. Companionship
09. No independence
10. No fun
11. Responsibility
12. No mobility
13. Career conflict
14. Poor impression
15. Accidental pregnancy

V18 REASON-2 FOR MARRIAGE EXPECTATION 99

01. Independence
02. Security
03. Everyone does
04. Engaged
05. Children
06. Have caretaker
07. Ready to marry
08. Companionship
09. No independence
10. No fun
11. Responsibility
12. No mobility
13. Career conflict
14. Poor impression
15. Accidental pregnancy

V19 REASON-3 FOR MARRIAGE EXPECTATION 99

01. Independence
02. Security
03. Everyone does
04. Engaged
05. Children
06. Have caretaker
07. Ready to marry
08. Companionship
09. No independence

10. No fun
11. Responsibility
12. No mobility
13. Career conflict
14. Poor impression
15. Accidental pregnancy

V20 DISCREPANCY REASON-1 [MARRIAGE] 9

1. Won't find spouse
2. Accidental pregnancy
3. Will find spouse
4. Parental pressure
5. Career conflict
8. No discrepancy

V21 DISCREPANCY REASON-2 [MARRIAGE] 9

1. Won't find spouse
2. Accidental pregnancy
3. Will find spouse
4. Parental pressure
5. Career conflict
8. No discrepancy

V22 DISCREPANCY REASON-3 [MARRIAGE] 9

1. Won't find spouse
2. Accidental pregnancy
3. Will find spouse
4. Parental pressure
5. Career conflict
8. No discrepancy

V23 PARENTAL ASPIRATION 9

1. Yes
2. No

V24 NUMBER OF CHILDREN-ASPIRATION 8
9

1. One
2. Two
3. Three
4. Four or more

V25 PARENTAL EXPECTATION 9

1. Yes
2. No

V26 NUMBER OF CHILDREN-EXPECTATION 8
9

1. One

2. Two
3. Three
4. Four or more

V27 REASON-1 FOR PARENTAL ASPIRATION 99

01. Everyone does
02. Likes kids
03. Cement family
04. Someone to love
05. Be good parent
06. To teach or play with
07. Love for spouse
08. Doesn't like kids
09. Expense
10. Trouble
11. Responsibility
12. Time consuming
13. Troubled world
14. Have caretaker
15. Supposed to
16. Family line

V28 REASON-2 FOR PARENTAL ASPIRATION 99

01. Everyone does
02. Likes kids
03. Cement family
04. Someone to love
05. Be good parent
06. To teach or play with
07. Love for spouse
08. Doesn't like kids
09. Expense
10. Trouble
11. Responsibility
12. Time consuming
13. Troubled world
14. Have caretaker
15. Supposed to
16. Family line

V29 REASON-3 FOR PARENTAL ASPIRATION 99

01. Everyone does
02. Likes kids
03. Cement family
04. Someone to love
05. Be good parent
06. To teach or play with
07. Love for spouse
08. Doesn't like kids
09. Expense

10. Trouble
11. Responsibility
12. Time consuming
13. Troubled world
14. Have caretaker
15. Supposed to
16. Family line

V30 REASON-1 FOR PARENTAL EXPECTATION 99

01. Everyone does
02. Likes kids
03. Cement family
04. Someone to love
05. Be good parent
06. To teach or play with
07. Love for spouse
08. Doesn't like kids
09. Expense
10. Trouble
11. Responsibility
12. Time consuming
13. Troubled world
14. Have caretaker
15. Supposed to
16. Family line

V31 REASON-2 FOR PARENTAL EXPECTATION 99

01. Everyone does
02. Likes kids
03. Cement family
04. Someone to love
05. Be good parent
06. To teach or play with
07. Love for spouse
08. Doesn't like kids
09. Expense
10. Trouble
11. Responsibility
12. Time consuming
13. Troubled world
14. Have caretaker
15. Supposed to
16. Family line

V32 REASON-3 FOR PARENTAL EXPECTATION 99

01. Everyone does
02. Likes kids
03. Cement family
04. Someone to love
05. Be good parent
06. To teach or play with

07. Love for spouse
08. Doesn't like kids
09. Expense
10. Trouble
11. Responsibility
12. Time consuming
13. Troubled world
14. Have caretaker
15. Supposed to
16. Family line

V33 DISCREPANCY REASON-1 [CHILDREN] 9

1. Sterility
2. Financial
3. Spouse won't want
4. Career or time
5. Spouse will want
6. Accidental pregnancy
8. No discrepancy

V34 DISCREPANCY REASON-2 [CHILDREN] 9

1. Sterility
2. Financial
3. Spouse won't want
4. Career or time
5. Spouse will want
6. Accidental pregnancy
8. No discrepancy

V35 DISCREPANCY REASON-3 [CHILDREN] 9

1. Sterility
2. Financial
3. Spouse won't want
4. Career or time
5. Spouse will want
6. Accidental pregnancy
8. No discrepancy

V36 WORK ASPIRATION 9

1. Yes
2. No

V37 WORK EXPECTATION 9

1. Yes
2. No

V38 REASON FOR WORK ASPIRATION 9

1. Likes work

2. Financial need
3. Spouse approval
4. Children
5. Spouse disapproval
6. Won't find job
7. Doesn't like work

V39 REASON FOR WORK EXPECTATION 9

1. Likes work
2. Financial need
3. Spouse approval
4. Children
5. Spouse disapproval
6. Won't find job
7. Doesn't like work

V40 OCCUPATION-ASPIRATION [SEX TYPE] 9

1. Male
2. Mixed
3. Female

V41 OCCUPATION-ASPIRATION [CLASS] 9

1. Unskilled
2. Semi-skilled
3. Skilled
4. White collar
5. Professional
6. Other[actor,etc]

V42 OCCUPATION-ASPIRATION [HAS INFO] 9

1. Yes
2. No

V43 OCCUPATION-ASPIRATION [TRAINING] 9

1. Yes
2. No

V44 OCCUPATION-ASPIRATION [ROLE MODEL] 9

1. Yes
2. No

V45 OCCUPATION-ASPIRATION [ROLE MODEL RELATION] 8
9

1. Relative
2. Friend
3. School
4. Other

V46 OCCUPATION-ASPIRATION [PRESTIGE SCORE] 99

V47 OCCUPATION-EXPECTATION [SEX TYPE] 9

1. Male
2. Mixed
3. Female

V48 OCCUPATION-EXPECTATION [CLASS] 9

1. Unskilled
2. Semi-skilled
3. Skilled
4. White collar
5. Professional
6. Other[actor,etc]

V49 OCCUPATION-EXPECTATION [HAS INFO] 9

1. Yes
2. No

V50 OCCUPATION-EXPECTATION [TRAINING] 9

1. Yes
2. No

V51 OCCUPATION-EXPECTATION [ROLE MODEL] 9

1. Yes
2. No

V52 OCCUPATION-EXPECTATION [ROLE MODEL RELATION] 8
9

1. Relative
2. Friend
3. School
4. Other

V53 OCCUPATION-EXPECTATION [PRESTIGE SCORE] 99

V54 DISCREPANCY REASON-1 [OCCUPATION] 9

1. Training expensive
2. Training-job hard
3. Training hard to get
4. No skill
5. Job hard to get
6. Discrimination
8. No discrepancy

V55 DISCREPANCY REASON-2 [OCCUPATION] 9

1. Training expensive

2. Training-job hard
3. Training hard to get
4. No skill
5. Job hard to get
6. Discrimination
8. No discrepancy

V56 DISCREPANCY REASON-3 [OCCUPATION] 9

1. Training expensive
2. Training-job hard
3. Training hard to get
4. No skill
5. Job hard to get
6. Discrimination
8. No discrepancy

V57 WORK+FAMILY-ASPIRATION [FOR WIFE] 8
9

1. Always work
2. Except preschool children
3. Except with children at home
4. Until first child
5. Until marry
6. Never

V58 WORK+FAMILY-EXPECTATION [FOR WIFE] 8
9

1. Always work
2. Except preschool children
3. Except with children at home
4. Until first child
5. Until marry
6. Never

V59 WORK+FAMILY-SPOUSE PREFERENCE [FOR WIFE] 8
9

1. Always work
2. Except preschool children
3. Except with children at home
4. Until first child
5. Until marry
6. Never

V60 DISCREPANCY REASON-1 [WORK+FAMILY] 9

1. Spouse wants
2. Financial
3. Something to do
4. No jobs
8. No discrepancy

V61 DISCREPANCY REASON-2 [WORK+FAMILY] 9

1. Spouse wants
2. Financial
3. Something to do
4. No jobs
8. No discrepancy

V62 DISCREPANCY REASON-3 [WORK+FAMILY] 9

1. Spouse wants
2. Financial
3. Something to do
4. No jobs
8. No discrepancy

V63 DIVISION OF LABOR [IMAGINE TUESDAY] 9

1. Traditional
2. Nontraditional

V64 DIVISION OF DUTY [IMAGINE TUESDAY] 9

1. Traditional
2. Nontraditional

V65 CHILDCARE DUTY [IMAGINE TUESDAY] 9

1. Traditional
2. Nontraditional

V66 DIVISION OF LABOR [IMAGINE WEEKEND] 9

1. Traditional
2. Nontraditional

V67 DIVISION OF DUTY [IMAGINE WEEKEND] 9

1. Traditional
2. Nontraditional

V68 CHILDCARE DUTY [IMAGINE WEEKEND] 9

1. Traditional
2. Nontraditional

V69 SMITH JOB DECISION [TAKE OR NOT] 9

1. Yes
2. No
3. Find another

V70 REASON-1 FOR SMITH DECISION 9

1. Money
2. Sees family weekends

3. His rights
4. Wife objects
5. Family important
6. Other

V71 REASON-2 FOR SMITH DECISION 9

1. Money
2. Sees family weekends
3. His rights
4. Wife objects
5. Family important
6. Other

V72 REASON-3 FOR SMITH DECISION 9

1. Money
2. Sees family weekends
3. His rights
4. Wife objects
5. Family important
6. Other

V73 JONES JOB DECISION [TAKE OR NOT] 9

1. Yes
2. No

V74 REASON-1 FOR JONES DECISION 9

1. Her rights
2. Kids in school
3. She wants stove
4. He objects
5. Family important
6. He buys stove
7. Need stove-money

V75 REASON-2 FOR JONES DECISION 9

1. Her rights
2. Kids in school
3. She wants stove
4. He objects
5. Family important
6. He buys stove
7. Need stove-money

V76 REASON-3 FOR JONES DECISION 9

1. Her rights
2. Kids in school
3. She wants stove
4. He objects

5. Family important
6. He buys stove
7. Need stove-money

V77 MR. JONES IS RIGHT DECISION 9

1. Yes
2. No

V78 REASON-1 FOR MR. JONES DECISION 9

1. Family important
2. He's boss
3. He buys stove
4. Her rights
5. Kids in school
6. Need stove-money
7. Dangerous to work

V79 REASON-2 FOR MR. JONES DECISION 9

1. Family important
2. He's boss
3. He buys stove
4. Her rights
5. Kids in school
6. Need stove-money
7. Dangerous to work

V80 REASON-3 FOR MR. JONES DECISION 9

1. Family important
2. He's boss
3. He buys stove
4. Her rights
5. Kids in school
6. Need stove-money
7. Dangerous to work

V81 ANDERSON CHILD DECISION [WHO STAYS] 9

1. He stays
2. She stays
3. Share
4. Neither

V82 REASON-1 FOR ANDERSON DECISION 9

1. Money
2. Better care
3. Joint schedule
4. Hire nurse

V83 REASON-2 FOR ANDERSON DECISION 9

1. Money
2. Better care
3. Joint schedule
4. Hire nurse

V84 REASON-3 FOR ANDERSON DECISION 9

1. Money
2. Better care
3. Joint schedule
4. Hire nurse

V85 MRS. ANDERSON EARNS MORE [WHO STAYS] 9

1. He stays
2. She stays
3. Share
4. Neither

V86 REASON-1 FOR MRS. ANDERSON DECISION 9

1. Money
2. Better care
3. Joint schedule
4. Hire nurse

V87 REASON-2 FOR MRS. ANDERSON DECISION 9

1. Money
2. Better care
3. Joint schedule
4. Hire nurse

V88 REASON-3 FOR MRS. ANDERSON DECISION 9

1. Money
2. Better care
3. Joint schedule
4. Hire nurse

V89 ROLE MODEL [GENERAL] 99

00. None
01. Father
02. Mother
03. Relative-same sex
04. Relative-opposite sex
05. Friend-same sex
06. Friend-opposite sex
07. Other-same sex
08. Other-opposite sex
09. Celebrity-same sex
10. Celebrity-opposite sex

11. Parents

V90 REASON FOR GENERAL ROLE MODEL 8 9

1. Job
2. Money
3. Family
4. Personality
5. Life style
6. Talent-ability

V91 OTHER ROLE MODEL [FAMILY+JOB] 9

1. Yes
2. No

V92 REASON FOR OTHER ROLE MODEL 8 9

1. Freedom
2. Money
3. Happiness
4. Power
5. Life style

V93 CAREER ROLE MODEL-ASPIRATION 99

00. None
01. Father
02. Mother
03. Relative-same sex
04. Relative-opposite sex
05. Friend-same sex
06. Friend-opposite sex
07. Other-same sex
08. Other-opposite sex
09. Celebrity-same sex
10. Celebrity-opposite sex
11. Parents

V94 CAREER ROLE MODEL-ASPIRATION [CLASS] 8 9

1. Unskilled
2. Semi-skilled
3. Skilled
4. White collar
5. Professional
6. Other[actor,etc]

V95 CAREER ROLE MODEL-EXPECTATION 99

00. None
01. Father
02. Relative-same sex
03. Relative-same sex

04. Relative-opposite sex
05. Friend-same sex
06. Friend-opposite sex
07. Other-same sex
08. Other-opposite sex
09. Celebrity-same sex
10. Celebrity-opposite sex
11. Parents

V96 CAREER ROLE MODEL-EXPECTATION [CLASS] 8
9

1. Unskilled
2. Semi-skilled
3. Skilled
4. White collar
5. Professional
6. Other[actor,etc]

V97 SIGNIFICANT OTHER (SO) 99

00. None
01. Father
02. Mother
03. Relative-same sex
04. Relative-opposite sex
05. Friend-same sex
06. Friend-opposite sex
07. Other-same sex
08. Other-opposite sex
09. Celebrity-same sex
10. Parents

V98 JOB OPINION OF SO [HAVE OR NOT] 8
9

1. Yes
2. No

V99 JOB OPINION OF SO [SEX TYPE] 8
9

1. Male
2. Mixed
3. Female

V100 FAMILY LIFE OPINION OF SO 8
9

1. Job only
2. Job and family
3. Family only

V101 WORK VS. FAMILY OPINION OF SO 8
9

1. Work
2. Family
3. Both

V102 WORKING WIVES OPINION OF SO 8 9

1. Good
2. If need
3. Bad

V103 WORKING MOTHERS OPINION OF SO 8 9

1. Good
2. If need
3. Bad

V104 NON-WORKING HUSBANDS OPINION OF SO 8 9

1. Good
2. If need
3. Bad

V105 SOURCE[S] OF ROLE MODELS 8 9

1. Nuclear
2. Extended
3. Other
4. Nuclear-extended
5. Nuclear-other
6. Extended-other
7. All

V106 MOTHER WORKED PREVIOUSLY 8 9

1. Yes
2. No

V107 MOTHER'S PREVIOUS JOB CLASS 8 9

1. Unskilled
2. Semi-skilled
3. Skilled
4. White collar
5. Professional

V108 MOTHER WORKS CURRENTLY 8 9

1. Yes
2. No

V109 MOTHER'S CURRENT JOB CLASS 8 9

1. Unskilled
2. Semi-skilled
3. Skilled
4. White collar
5. Professional

V110 MOTHER'S PREVIOUS WORK ATTITUDE 8
9

1. Positive
2. Neutral
3. Negative

V111 MOTHER'S CURRENT WORK ATTITUDE 8
9

1. Positive
2. Neutral
3. Negative

V112 MOTHER'S PREVIOUS JOB [FATHER'S ATTITIUDE] 8
9

1. Positive
2. Neutral
3. Negative

V113 MOTHER'S CURRENT JOB [FATHER'S ATTITUDE] 8
9

1. Positive
2. Neutral
3. Negative

V114 MOTHER'S PREVIOUS JOB [RESP'S ATTITUDE] 8
9

1. Positive
2. Neutral
3. Negative

V115 MOTHER'S CURRENT JOB [RESP'S ATTITUDE] 8
9

1. Positive
2. Neutral
3. Negative

V116 MOTHER WANTS TO WORK 8
9

1. Yes
2. No

V117 MOTHER AS HOUSEWIFE [WANTS TO BE OR NOT] 8
9

1. Yes
2. No

V118 FATHER WORKED PREVIOUSLY 8
9

1. Yes
2. No

V119 FATHER'S PREVIOUS JOB CLASS 8
9

1. Unskilled
2. Semi-skilled
3. Skilled
4. White collar
5. Professional

V120 FATHER WORKS CURRENTLY 8 9

1. Yes
2. No

V121 FATHER'S CURRENT JOB CLASS 8 9

1. Unskilled
2. Semi-skilled
3. Skilled
4. White collar
5. Professional

V122 FATHER'S WORK ATTITUDE 8 9

1. Positive
2. Neutral
3. Negative

V123 FATHER'S JOB [MOTHER'S ATTITUDE] 8 9

1. Positive
2. Neutral
3. Negative

V124 FATHER'S JOB [RESP'S ATTITUDE] 8 9

1. Positive
2. Neutral
3. Negative

V125 ATTITUDE TOWARD WOMEN SCALE [TOTAL SCORE] 99

V126 SELF-CONCEPT SCALE [TOTAL SCORE] 99

V89A HAS GENERAL ROLE MODEL 9

1. Yes
2. No

V93A HAS CAREER ROLE MODEL [ASPIRATION] 9

1. Yes
2. No

V95A HAS CAREER ROLE MODEL [EXPECTATION] 9

1. Yes
2. No